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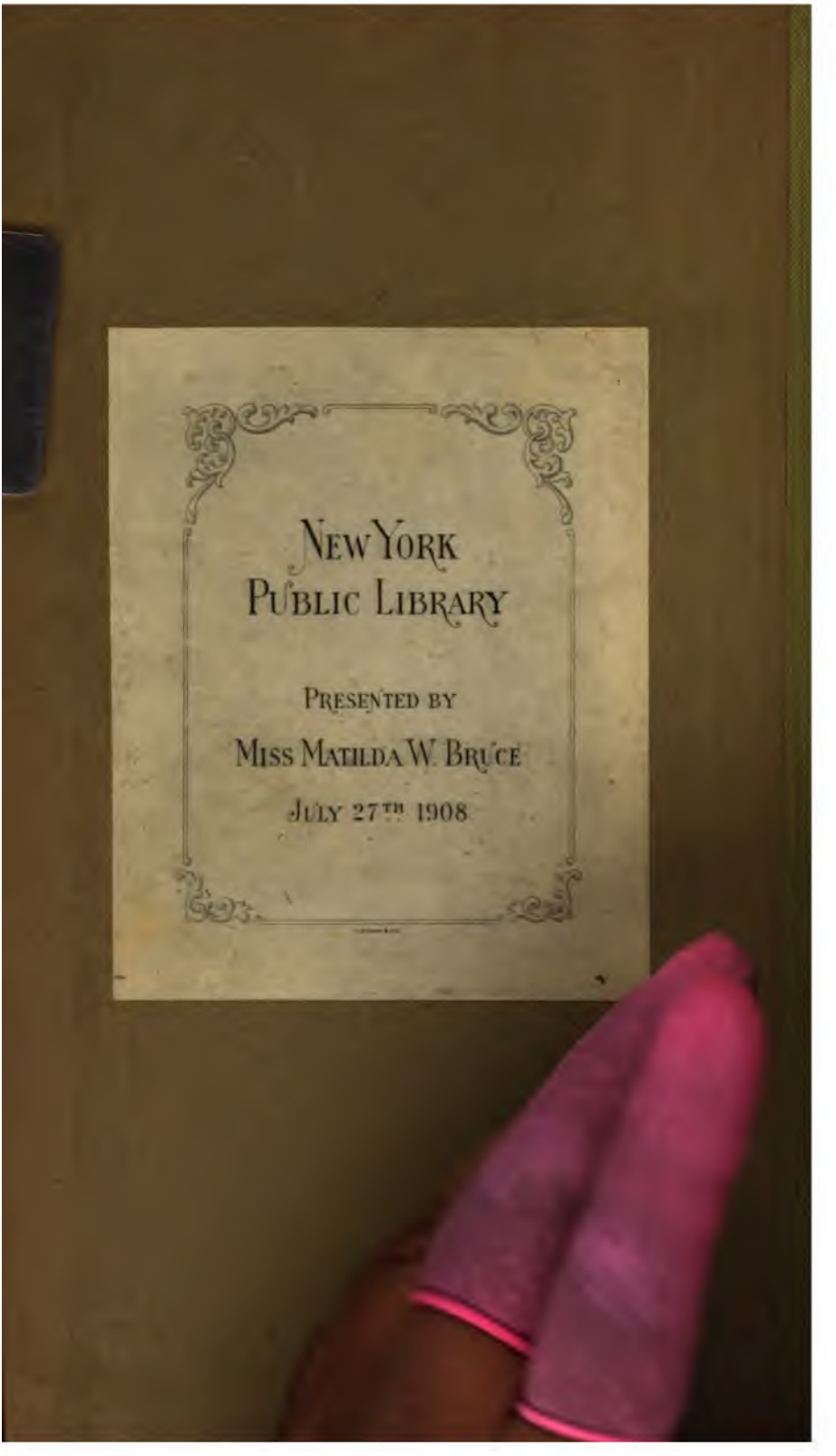
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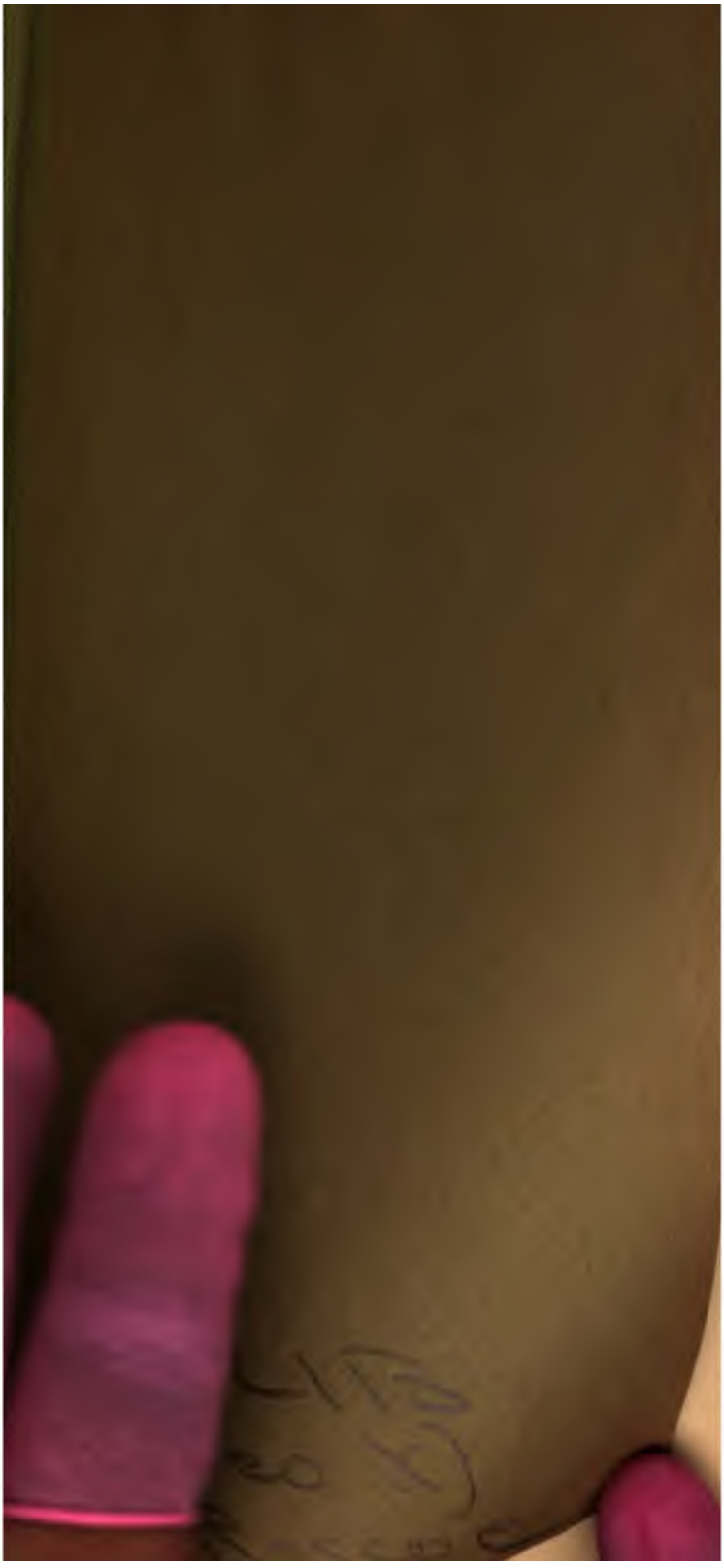

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MARTIN LUTHER.

# LEO THE TENTH.

THE

# LIFE

AND

# PONTIFICATE

OF

# LEO THE TENTH.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

VOL. III.

——— Nunc aurea conditur ætas
Mars silet, et positis belli Tritonia signis
Exercet calamos, sopitaque tempore longo
Excitat ingenia ad certamina docta sororum.
*And. Fulvii, præf. ad Leon, X. de antiquitatibus Urbis.*

PHILADELPHIA:
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1806.

## CHAP. XIII.

### 1515—1516.

FRANCIS I. assumes the title of duke of Milan—Forms an alliance with the archduke Charles—With Henry VIII.—And with the Venetian state—Leo X. wishes to remain neuter—Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy—Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena—Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part—Accedes to the league against France—Revolt of Fregosa at Genoa—He attempts to justify his conduct to the pope—Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese—Forces of the allies—The league proclaimed—Genoa surrenders to the French fleet—Prospero Colonna surprised and made prisoner—The pope relaxes in his opposition to Francis I.—The Swiss resolve to oppose the French—Francis I. summons the city of Milan to surrender—Endeavours without effect to form an alliance with the Swiss—Rapid march of D'Alviano—Inactivity of the Spanish and papal troops—Battle of Marignano—Francis I. knighted by the chevalier Bayard—Surrender of the Milanese—Leo X. forms an alliance with Francis I.—Embassy from the Venetians to the French king—Death of D'Alviano—Wolsey raised to the rank of cardinal—Leo X. visits Florence—Rejoicings and exhibitions on that occasion—Procession of the pope—He visits the tomb of his

his father—Arrives at Bologna—His interview with Francis I.—Particular occurrences on that occasion—Abolition of the Pragmatick Sanction and establishment of the *Concordat*—Leo X. returns to Florence—Raffaelle Petrucci obtains the chief authority in Siena—Death of Giuliano de' Medici—Escape of the pope from barbarian corsairs at Civita Lavinia.

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ALTHOUGH the death of Louis XII. had for the present relieved the Roman Pontiff from the apprehensions which he had entertained for the repose of Italy, yet that event was by no means favourable to his views. By the united efforts of his spiritual arms and his temporal allies, Leo had not only repressed the ambitious designs of the French monarch, but had acquired an ascendency over him which might have been converted to very important purposes; and if he could not induce the king to relinquish his designs upon Milan, yet he had made such arrangements as to be prepared for whatever might be the event of that expedition. By the death of this monarch, he therefore lost in a great degree the result of his labours; and this he had the more reason to regret, as the duke of Angoulême, who succeeded to the crown at the age of twenty-two years, by the name of Francis I. was of a vigorous constitution, an active disposition, and courageous even to a romantick extreme. On assuming the title of king of France, he forgot not to add that of duke of Milan; but although the salique law had preferred him to the two daughters of Louis XII. as the successour of that

Francis I. assumes the title of duke of Milan.

that monarch, the sovereignty of Milan was considered, under the imperial investiture, as the absolute inheritance of the late king, and liable to be disposed of at his own pleasure. Preparatory to the negotiation which had taken place for the marriage of Renecé, youngest daughter of Louis XII. with the archduke Charles, her father had made a grant to her of the dutchy of Milan, and the county of Pavia, with a limitation, in case of her dying without offspring, to his eldest daughter Claudia, the queen of Francis I.[a] Soon after the accession of Francis, the queen, therefore, by a solemn diploma, transferred to the king her rights to the dutchy of Milan and its dependant states; in consideration, as it appears, of a grant previously made to her of the dutchies of Aragon and Angoulême, and a stipulation on the part of Francis of providing a suitable match for the princess Renecé.[b]

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The character of Francis I. was a sufficient pledge that the title, which he had thus assumed, would not long be suffered to remain merely nominal.

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[a] There was also a further limitation to Francis, in case the two princesses died without children. The grant is preserved in *Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 177.

[b] This act is given in Lünig, *Codex. Italiæ Diplomaticus*, i. 522. Also by Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat. tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 211.

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minal. From his infancy he had been accustomed to hear of the achievements of his countrymen in Italy. The glory of Gaston de Foix seemed to obscure his own reputation, and at the recital of the battles of Brescia and of Ravenna, he is said to have expressed all those emotions of impatient regret which Cesar felt on contemplating the statue of Alexander.[c] He was, however, sufficiently aware, that before he engaged in an enterprise of such importance as the conquest of Milan, it would be necessary not only to confirm his alliances with those powers who were in amity with France, but also to obviate as far as possible the opposition of such as might be hostile to his views. His first overtures were therefore directed to the young archduke Charles, who although then only fifteen years of age, had assumed the government of the Netherlands, which he inherited in right of his grandmother Mary, daughter of Charles, last duke of Burgundy. The situation of the archduke rendered such an alliance as that with Francis I. highly expedient to him, and the conditions were speedily concluded on. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed to aid each other in the defence of the dominions which they then respectively held, or which they might thereafter possess; and that if either of them should undertake any just

Forms an alliance with the archduke Charles.

[c] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 396.

just conquest, the other should be bound, upon a proper representation, to afford his assistance in such a manner as might be agreed upon. Many regulations were also introduced respecting the territories held by the archduke as fiefs from the crown of France, and the contract for the marriage of the archduke with the princess Reneé of France was again revived under certain stipulations, which it would be superfluous to enumerate, as the marriage never took effect. [d]

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The friendship of Henry VIII. was not less an object of importance to the French monarch than that of the archduke, and he therefore sent instructions to the president of Rohan, his ambassadour in England, to propose a renewal of the treaty made with Louis XII. which, upon Francis entering

And with Henry VIII.

[d] The author of the *Ligue de Cambray* informs us, that by this treaty the French monarch undertook to assist the archduke in recovering the dominions of his maternal ancestors on the death of his grandfather the king of Aragon; in return for which the archduke agreed not to oppose the king in his attempt on Milan. *Ligue de Cambr.* ii. 397. It would have been very indecorous, and indeed very impolitick in Charles, to have introduced a clause of this nature, which would have had a direct tendency to throw doubts upon his title to his hereditary dominions in Spain; nor are any such specifick stipulations contained in the treaty, which is couched only in general terms. *v. Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 199.

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ing into a new obligation for the payment of the million of crowns for which Louis had engaged himself, was willingly assented to, and the treaty was signed at Westminster, on the fourth day of April, 1515. Leo X. is named therein, with other sovereigns, as the ally of both the contracting parties; but it is particularly specified, that this nomination shall have no reference to the states of Milan, which the French king claims as his right; and through the whole treaty he has cautiously affixed to his other titles, those of duke of Milan and lord of Genoa.[e]

And with the Venetian state.

The negotiations of Francis with Ferdinand of Aragon, and the emperour elect, Maximilian, were not, however, attended with the expected success. To the former he proposed the renewal of the treaty which had subsisted between him and Louis XII. omitting only the article which guarantied the tranquillity of Milan; but as this held out to Ferdinand no adequate advantages for a concession which might prove eventually dangerous to his

[e] *Du Mont Corps Diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 204. *Rymer. Fœdera, vol.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 98. The great attention paid by the pope to Henry VIII. at this period, sufficiently appears by a letter from him to that monarch, respecting the appointment of the archbishop of St. Andrews to the office of pontifical legate, in which he assures the king that he esteems him before all the sovereigns of the time, and is ready to do all in his power for his gratification.

his Italian possessions, it is not surprising that he rejected the proposition; and the emperour elect, who at this time regarded Ferdinand as an oracle of political wisdom, was easily prevailed upon to join his irresolute and feeble aid in opposing the designs of the French monarch. Whilst these negotiations were depending, Francis had forborn to treat with the Venetians, who still remained firmly attached to the cause of the French; but no sooner were his propositions to the two sovereigns rejected, than he agreed with them to renew the treaty of Blois, by which Louis XII. had promised to assist them in recovering the possessions of which they had been deprived by the emperour elect in Lombardy. At the same time he assured the Venetian ambassadour, that before the expiration of four months, he would unite his arms with those of the republick on the banks of the Adda.[t] The Swiss, whom the breach of the treaty of Dijon had rendered irreconcilable enemies of France, still continued to breathe from their mountains defiance and revenge. A herald, whom Francis sent to demand passports for his ambassadours, instead of obtaining the object of his mission, was ordered to return and inform his sovereign, that he might soon expect another visit from them, unless he speedily fulfilled the treaty. In one respect, this avowed hostility was, however, serviceable to the king, as it enabled

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[t] *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* iv. *tom.* ii. *p.* 402.

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bled him, under the pretext of opposing the Swiss to carry on, without exciting the jealousy of surrounding states, those formidable preparations which he intended to direct towards another quarter.

Leo X. wishes to remain neuter.

Under this alarming aspect of publick affairs, which evidently portended new calamities to Europe, Leo availed himself of the friendly terms which he had cautiously maintained with the contending powers, to decline taking an active part in favour of any of them, whilst he continued as the chief of christendom to administer his advice to all. In this conduct, which was no less consistent with the dignity of his office, than with his own private interest, he was for some time encouraged to persevere, by the open sanction or the tacit assent of all parties. Francis I. instead of pressing him to favour an enterprise, towards the success of which he well knew the pope was decidedly adverse, contented himself with sending an embassy to request that he would not enter into any engagements which might prevent those friendly connexions that would probably take place between them, in case his expedition against Milan should prove successful;[s] and to assure him that there was no one who esteemed

[s] Leo had written to Francis I. soon after his accession, congratulating him on that event, and assuring him of his perfect confidence in his good intentions towards the holy see,

esteemed more highly the favour of the holy see, or who would make greater sacrifices for the service of the pontiff and the honour of his family, than himself.[h] This communication, which in fact, left the pope at full liberty to preserve his neutrality until the event of the contest was known, induced him to decline the offers which were made to him about the same period, by the emperour elect, the king of Aragon, and the Helvetick states, to enter into the league which they had lately concluded for the defence of the Milanese, and in which a power had been reserved for the pope, to accede to it within a limited time. By this treaty it had been agreed, that the Swiss should send a powerful body of troops to the defence of Milan, and should at the same *time* march an army into the dutchy of Burgundy for the purpose of occupying the French monarch in the defence of his own dominions; for which services they were to receive a monthly subsidy of forty thousand crowns. Ferdinand, on his part undertook to attack the dominions of Francis on the side of Perpignan and Fontarabia; whilst Maximilian, on this, as on other occasions, seemed to consider the imperial sanction as a sufficient contribution,

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see. At the same time requesting him to confer on the cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, the archbishoprick of Narbonne, with which the king complied.

[h] *Guicciard. Storia. d' Ital. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *p.* 84.

CHAP. XIII. contribution, on his part, in lieu both of money and troops.[1]

1515.

Æt. 40. In determining the pope to the neutrality which he manifested on this occasion, other reasons of no inconsiderable importance concurred. Early in the month of February, 1515, the matrimonial engagement which had been entered into at the close of the preceding year between Giuliano de' Medici, and Filiberta of Savoy, sister of Louisa dutchess of Angoulême, the mother of Francis I. was carried into effect; on which occasion Giuliano paid a visit to the French court, where he so far obtained the favourable opinion of Francis, that he declared he esteemed the connexion as highly as if it had been formed with the most powerful sovereign. Besides the revenues of Parma and Piacenza, which Leo had already conferred on his brother, and which amounted to the clear annual sum of twenty-eight thousand ducats, he assigned to him the income to arise from the city of Modena, which was supposed to amount to about twenty thousand more. He also conferred on him the title of captain-general of the church, to the exclusion of the duke of Urbino, to which he added a monthly salary of four hundred and eight ducats, whilst a separate revenue of three hundred ducats per month was granted to the bride for her own use, although in respect of her high alliances,

Marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta of Savoy.

[1] *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* iv. *tom.* ii. *p.* 405.

ances, she had been received without a portion.[j] Other considerable sums were disbursed in preparing a suitable residence for Giuliano and his bride, in Rome, where it was intended they should maintain a secular court; and in the rejoicings which took place in that city on their arrival, the pope is said to have incurred the enormous expense of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats.[k] Extraordinary festivals were also celebrated at Turin, where Giuliano and his wife resided for a month after their marriage; and again at Florence, where all the inhabitants, either through affection or through fear, were anxious to show their respect to the family of the Medici. But, in case the king proved successful in his enterprise against Milan, the territory from which Giuliano derived a great part of his revenues, lay at his mercy, and it would therefore have been not only indecorous, but imprudent in the pope, at such a juncture, to have espoused the cause of his adversaries, and blighted the expectations which Giuliano might reasonably form from the continuance of his favour.

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During the absence of Giuliano de' Medici from Rome, he received frequent information respecting the critical state of publick affairs, and the dispositions

Confidential letter to him from the cardinal da Bibbiena.

[j] *Lettera del Card. da Bibbiena a Giuliano de' Medici. Lettere di Principi.* i. 15.

[k] *Muratori, Annali d' Italia.* x. 110.

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tions and views of the European powers, as well from Lodovico Canossa, the pontifical legate at the court of France, as from the cardinal da Bibbiena at Rome. The letters from Canossa on this occasion contain the fullest assurances of the kind dispositions, as well of the king, as of his mother Louisa, towards the family of the Medici; and the strongest exhortations to him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of cementing, by a stricter alliance, a connexion so happily begun. But the letters of the cardinal da Bibbiena, who was at this period intrusted with the most secret intentions of the Roman court, are of a much more curious nature, and throw such light on the state of publick affairs, the situation of the different members of the Medici family, and the ambitious designs which were formed by them, as might render a specimen of them not uninteresting, even if it were not written by the lively pen of the author of the *Calandra*.

### To the Magnificent Giuliano de' Medici, Captain of the Church.

"His holiness has expressed great surprise and "dissatisfaction at having heard nothing respecting "you during so many days, and complains grievously of your attendants, who have been so negligent, that since your arrival at Nice, no intelligence has been received of your proceedings. "The blame of this is chiefly attributed, both by "his

" his holiness and myself, to M. Latino,[1] whose province it was to have written. It is no excuse to say, that from the remote situation of the place, he knew not how to forward his letters, because the expense would have been well laid out in sending a special messenger, who might at any time have proceeded either to Genoa or Piacenza, to inform the pope of that which is dearer to him than any other object; the state of your own health and person. If you, therefore, wish to relieve his holiness from this anxiety, and afford him real consolation, take care that he may in future be more particularly apprized of your welfare.

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" Not only the pope, and your own family, your brother, nephew, and sister,[m] but the whole court, are in the most earnest expectation of receiving news from you and your illustrious consort; nor do I think that the arrival of any person in any place, was ever expected with an impatience equal to that which she has excited at Rome, as well from her well known accomplishments, on which account every one is desirous to see and to honour her, as from the great favour with

[1] Latino Juvenale, one of the secretaries of Leo X. and frequently employed by him as an envoy to foreign states.

[m] Francesco Cibò, Lorenzo de' Medici, and his mother Alfonsina Orsino.

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" with which you are yourself regarded here. You " will, therefore, inform us, with all possible speed " and accuracy, what time will be employed in " your journey, and when you purpose to arrive " at Rome, that every thing may be prepared for " your reception. I shall say no more on this head, " expecting to hear fully from you on the subject.

" As I know that M. Pietro Ardinghelli has " continually apprized you of the most important " occurrences, I have not for the last ten days " troubled you with my letters. I had before writ- " ten two long letters to you by way of Piacenza, " which I flatter myself came safe to your hands. " I there mentioned that Tomaso,[n] on going from " home had left your Baccio,[o] to expedite many " affairs of importance. With Ghingerli,[p] and " with him who wished to be related to Leonardo,[q] " an intimate friendship and good understanding " has been concluded; they being fully inclined to " do the same as the rest whom Leonardo knows; " if

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[n] Leo X.

[o] The cardinal da Bibbiena, writer of the letter.

[p] The king of Spain.

[q] By the person who wished to be related to Leonardo, is probably meant the emperour elect, Maximilian, and by Leonardo, certainly the magnificent Giuliano, to whom the letter is addressed.

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" if that which Tomaso wishes for Leonardo be " granted, which it is hoped will be done.[r] By " his letters of the third day of this month, Ghin- " gerli has informed Tomaso that he is willing, be- " sides the other recompense which I mentioned to " you, to relinquish the place at which my Leo- " nardo was formerly so much indisposed, to the " person you know.[s] It remains therefore, that he " who is to receive this recompense,[t] and his de- " fenders in the vicinity,[u] should satisfy themselves " on this head; it being expected that they will " approve of it.[v] The person whom count Hercole " resembles,[w] has sent a message to his master to " this effect, and has requested Ghingerli that he " will wholly give up the other two places which " are

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[r] From this is to be understood, that the king of Spain, and the emperour, were willing that the pope should retain the possessions which he held in Lombardy.

[s] Undoubtedly the dutchy of Urbino, where Giuliano had passed a great portion of his time during his exile.

[t] Meaning Giuliano himself.

[u] The Roman see.

[v] This seems intended to discover the sentiments of Giuliano respecting the attempt upon Urbino, of which from principles of justice and gratitude he always disapproved.

[w] The Spanish ambassadour, who probably bore some resemblance in his person to the count Ercole Rangone, a nobleman of the court of Leo X.

CHAP. XIII. 1515. Æt. 40.

" are to belong to Tomaso, or to speak more accu-
" rately to Leonardo,[x] and it is thought there will
" not be the slightest difficulty. Tomaso is well
" disposed to this arrangement, and told me this
" morning repeatedly, that Leonardo should also
" have all the other places of which he had former-
" ly spoken,[y] making, however, as you know, a
" due recompense to those by whose means these
" favours are received.

" Bartolommeo, who has the cypher, is not at
" home. I must therefore express myself without
" it; particularly as this will be sent by our own
" messengers.

" Our most reverend cardinal, and the magni-
" ficent Lorenzo, recommend themselves to you
" as fully as can be expressed. I hope you will not
" omit to write to them, and especially to his ho-
" liness, whom I ought to have mentioned first.
" In this I trust you will not fail, as the reverence
" due to his holiness, and the love which they bear
" you, require it. The cardinal has received the
" *placet* of his most christian majesty for the cathe-
" dral of Narbonne, and wholly through the means
" of

[x] The cities of Parma and Piacenza.

[y] Alluding in all probability to the dutchy of Ferrara and its dependant states.

" of the dutchess of Angoulême,[z] on which account " your excellency may return thanks in the name " of his holiness to the duke, and his consort. The " business was concluded in the consistory the day " before yesterday, and the bull despatched to " France, as I believe Ardinghelli informed you; " as well as with the alliance which the Swiss have " made with the emperour, the catholick king, and " the duke of Milan. The substance of this treaty " Ardinghelli must have transmitted to you, as I " gave him a copy of the heads of it. To this his " holiness is not, for many reasons, disposed to as- " sent; it appearing to him to be proper, that when " a league is agreed upon, in which he is to be in- " cluded, it should be negotiated and stipulated " with him, as the head of the league, and of all " christendom.

CHAP. XII. 1515. Æt. 40.

" Tomaso says, that he expects they should " accept and agree to what he proposes, and not that " he should have to accept what is done by others.[a]

" We hear by way of France, that the king of " England intends to give his sister to the duke of " Suffolk,

[z] The mother of Francis I. and sister to the wife of Giuliano de' Medici.

[a] These passages afford a presumptive proof that the pope had not at this time determined to enter into the league against Francis I.

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" Suffolk, to which she is not averse. This is not " much believed, and yet the intelligence is pretty " authentick.

" It is thought his most christian majesty will " not this year make his attempt against Lombardy.

" The king of England is resolved that his sis- " ter shall on no account remain in France.

" The emperour and the catholick king are " using all their efforts to have her married to the " archduke. This is what we hear from our nun- " cios in Germany and in Spain.[b] I recollect no- " thing further that can be new to you. I leave the " festivities of this carnival to be related by others. " I shall only mention, that on Monday the magni- " ficent Lorenzo will have the *Pœnalus*[c] represented " in your theatre, and will give a supper in your " *salon* to the Marchesana. And on Sunday, in " Testaccio, he and the most reverend cardinal " Cibò, will exhibit a magnificent *gala* with twen- " ty

[b] It is not improbable, that the attachment of the widow of Louis XII. to the duke of Suffolk, and the sudden celebration of their marriage, terminated a negotiation which might have had such important consequences to these kingdoms and to Europe.

[c] Of Plautus.

"ty persons, dressed in brocade and velvet, at the "expense of his holiness. It will be a fine sight. CHAP. XIII. 1515.

"You have never yet informed us whether "you have excused yourself to the duke of Milan; "whether you have sent to the Swiss, and the car- "dinal of Sion, as was spoken of and advised; or "whether you have had any communication with "his most Christan majesty. Respecting all these "matters it is requisite that his holiness should be "fully informed. Æt. 40.

"Remember that next to his holiness, every "one regards you as the person in whom all the "thoughts, the expectations, and the designs of "the pope are concentred. I must also remind "you, that *all* your actions are not less noted and "considered than those of his holiness: and I "therefore entreat you, by the great affection "which I bear you, that you will daily if possible "manifest such a course of conduct as may be "worthy of your character.

"THE CARDINAL DA BIBBIENA."

*From Rome, the* 16*th of Feb.* 1515.

Could the French monarch have remained satisfied with the neutrality of the pontiff, the motives which had led to its adoption were sufficient to have induced Leo to persevere in it; but as the contest approached, Francis became more desirous of engaging the pope to take a decided part in his

Leo X. compelled to take a decisive part, accedes to the league against France.

CHAP. XIII. 1515. Æt. 40.

his favour. Such, however, was the aversion which Leo entertained to the establishment of the French in Italy, that even the solicitations of his brother to favour their cause were of no avail. As far as expressions of respect and paternal admonitions could appease the king, Leo spared nothing that might be likely to conciliate his favour; but the more Francis pressed him to a decision, the more apparent became his inclination to the cause of the allies. In order, however, to ascertain his intentions, Francis despatched as his ambassadour to Rome, the celebrated Budeus, who is deservedly considered by Guicciardini, as "perhaps one of the most learned men of the age both "in Greek and Roman literature."[d] He was shortly afterwards succeeded by Anton-Maria Pallavicini, a Milanese nobleman, who was supposed to possess great influence with the pope;[e] but the endeavours of the king to obtain a positive sanction to his enterprise were still ineffectual. At some times Leo appeared to have serious intentions of entering into a treaty, and required as a preliminary, that the states of Parma and Piacenza should be guarantied to the church, the refusal of which he conceived would afford him a sufficient apology for joining the cause of the allies. At other

[d] *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 86.

[e] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 410.

other times he is said to have made propositions, couched in such ambiguous terms, as when assented to, always required further explanations, and which left the negotiations in the same state of suspense as when the treaty began. The French and Italian writers are agreed in considering the conduct of the pontiff on this occasion, as the result of artifice and disingenuousness,[d] but they appear not sufficiently to have attended to the difficulties of his situation, or at least not to have made sufficient allowance for them. As head of the church, and both by his disposition and office, the acknowledged arbiter and mediator of Europe, he ought not perhaps to have been solicited to take a decided part in the threatened hostilities; and as a prince, whose temporal authority was supported rather by publick opinion, and the favour of surrounding states, than by his own forces, it was evident that he could not, without endangering his own safety, accede to the propositions of the king. If therefore the reiterated efforts of the French monarch to engage the pope in his interests were not followed by the consequences which he wished, they were followed by such as he might reasonably have expected, and instead of inducing the pope to unite the power of the Roman

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[d] *Guicciard., Storia d' Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 87. *Muratori. Annali d' Ital.* x. 107. *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* iv. ii. 411.

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Roman and Florentine states with the arms of France, compelled him, in conformity with his former maxims, to embrace the cause of the allies. In the month of June he issued a monitory subjecting, in general terms, all those who should again disturb the states of the church, and in particular Parma and Piacenza, to the penalties of excommunication;[e] and in July, he openly acceded to the general league expressly formed for the defence of Milan. Nor, if a decision could no longer be delayed, can it be denied, that in making this election, he chose the part that did the most credit to his character, or that an opposite conduct, would have rendered him deservedly liable to the suspicion of having sacrificed his principles and his country to the favour of the French monarch, and the aggrandizement of his own family.

Revolt of Fregoso at Genoa.

The first decisive indications of approaching hostilities appeared in Genoa, where Ottaviano Fregoso, who held the chief authority in that city, which he had obtained by the favour and preserved by the assistance of the pope,[f] unexpectedly

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[e] This document is preserved in Lünig, *Cod. Diplomat. Ital. v.* ii. *fo.* 802.

[f] Leo in one of his letters, thus addresses Fregoso, and the magistrates of Genoa, "Egimus cum Florentinorum

" magistratibus

pectedly relinquished his title of doge, and assumed that of governour for the king of France. That so bold a measure could not be adopted without the participation and encouragement of the king, was apparent; but the event proved, that the eagerness of Fregoso to avail himself of the honours, and emoluments that were to be the rewards of his defection, had prematurely led him to this treacherous attempt. The Adorni and the Fieschi, the ancient enemies of the Fregosi, were vigilant in grasping at any opportunity that might effect his ruin. Uniting their arms with those of Prospero Colonna, who commanded the forces of the duke of Milan, and being joined by six thousand Swiss, who had already arrived in Italy, they proceeded towards Genoa. Fregoso had assembled for his defence about five thousand men; but conceiving that they would be unable to support so powerful an attack, and despairing of obtaining timely aid from France, he was reduced to the humiliating necessity of having recourse to the pope

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" magistratibus, Laurentoque Mediceo, fratris nostri filio, " mandarent iis equitibus, qui Pisis sunt, ut ad vos tuendos " defendendosque contenderent, vobisque præsto essent, quo " tempore, quo loco jussissetis. Quod si vobis opus erit " majore auxilio, Florentinorum Equites militesque, quot- " quot habent, & nostræ copiæ omnes, ad vos, statumque " vestrum & dignitatem retinendam, atque oppidum con- " servandum, & confirmandum celeriter trajicientur." *ap. Fabr. in vita Leon.* x. *p.* 88.

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pope to protect him from the chastisement which his treachery had so justly merited. Whether Leo believed Fregoso to be sincere in his contrition, or whether, as is much more probable, he was unwilling to exasperate the French monarch, certain it is, that on this occasion he exerted his authority with Colonna to prevent the intended attack, and a negotiation was entered into, by which Fregoso was allowed to retain his authority as doge, on his engaging not to favour the cause of the French, and paying to the Swiss a considerable sum of money as an indemnification for their expenses. [s]

Fregoso attempts to vindicate himself to the pope.

In order to exculpate himself from the disgrace which he had incurred by this transaction, Fregoso is said to have addressed a letter to Leo X. in which after having particularized all the motives of his conduct, and alleged all the excuses in his power, he finally endeavours to vindicate the steps which he had taken by the example of the pontiff himself; assuring him, "that he well knew it would "be difficult to apologize for his conduct, if he "were addressing himself to a private individual, "or to a prince who considered matters of state "by those rules of morality which are applicable "to private life. But that in addressing himself "to

[s] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 87. *Murat. Annali* x. 111.

" to a sovereign who was inferiour in talents to no " one of the age, and whose penetration must have " discovered, that the measures which he had " adopted were such as appeared necessary for " the preservation of his authority, any further " excuse must appear superfluous; it being well " understood, that it was allowable, or at least " customary, for a sovereign to resort to expe- " dients of an extraordinary nature, not only for " the preservation, but even for the extension " and increase of his dominions." On this production, in which Fregoso is supposed to have satirically alluded to the conduct of the pope, in his negotiations with the king of France, and which has been considered as the manifesto of that monarch against Leo X.[1] it may be remarked, that if it was written to prevail upon Leo to interpose his authority for the protection of Fregoso, it was ill calculated to effect its purpose; if it was addressed to the pontiff afterwards, it was an ungrateful return for a magnanimous and unmerited favour, and that at whatever time it was produced (if indeed such a document ever existed) its application was equally insolent and absurd; the connexion between Leo X. and Francis I. bearing no similarity to that which subsisted between Fregoso and the pontiff, who had invested him with that very

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[1] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 413. *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 87.

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very authority which he had endeavoured to pervert, to purposes the most opposite to those for which it had been intrusted to him.

Preparations of Francis I. for attacking the Milanese.

As soon as the intentions of the pope were known, Francis I. thought proper to dispense with the pretexts under which he had made such formidable preparations, and to avow his purpose of attempting to recover the states of Milan. If we compare the measures adopted by Francis on this occasion with those of Charles VIII. about twenty years before, we shall be led to conclude, that of all the objects which at that time engaged the attention of mankind, the destructive science of war had made the most rapid progress. In fact, the commencement of the modern system of warfare is to be referred to this period, when the disorderly bodies of mercenary troops, dependant on their own particular leader, and armed in various modes, gave way to regular levies, duly disciplined, and to those immense trains of artillery, which have ever since been found the most effectual implements of destruction. In preparing to carry his arms beyond the Alps, it was, however, necessary that Francis should first provide for his security at home. The province of Gascony was threatened by Ferdinand of Aragon, and that of Burgundy by the Helvetick states. For the defence of the former he despatched the Sieur de Lautrec, with five hundred lances, and about five thousand infantry, whilst la Tremouille

mouille hastened to Provence with a considerable body of troops to prevent the incursions of the Swiss.[k] The army destined for the expedition to Milan is said to have consisted of four thousand lances, being double the number retained in the service of Louis XII. and which may be computed, with their usual attendants, at twenty thousand cavalry; but the accuracy of this statement has been questioned, and it is probable the number employed in this service did not greatly exceed half that amount.[l] To these were added several large bodies of infantry, as well Germans as French, amounting in the whole to upwards of thirty thousand men, and a much more formidable train of artillery than had ever before been collected. On arriving in the Lionnese, where they were directed to assemble, they were also joined by Pietro Navarro, at the head of ten thousand Biscayans, or Basque infantry, whom he had raised, rather by the credit of his military reputation, than by the influence of his rank, or his pecuniary resources. This celebrated officer, who had long held a conspicuous command in the Spanish army, after having been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna,

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[k] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 111.

[l] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 111. But according to the enumeration of Guicciardini, the forces of Francis I. amounted to upwards of 50,000 men. *Hist. d' Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 88.

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venna, had remained in confinement; his captor having demanded as his ransom twenty thousand gold crowns, which his avaricious sovereign had refused to pay. On the accession of Francis to the throne, he found Navarro languishing in prison, and being pleased with the opportunity of attaching such a man to his interests, he paid his ransom, and gave him the command of a troop of Biscayans, his countrymen. Navarro, although of mean extraction, had a sense of honour and fidelity, the criterion of an elevated mind. Before he would accept the bounty of the king, he again addressed himself to his former sovereign, once more entreating to be liberated, and replaced in his former employ. On the reiterated refusal of Ferdinand, Navarro transmitted to him a resignation of all the grants which had been made to him as a reward for his services, and took an oath of allegiance to the French monarch, to whom his talents and experience were of singular service, and to whom he ever afterwards retained an unshaken fidelity. [m]

Forces of the allies.

Nor were the allied powers remiss in preparing for the defence of Italy. The movement of troops throughout the whole of that country far exceeded any recent example. After having reduced Fregoso, doge of Genoa, to obedience, Prospero Colonna

[m] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 407.

lonna, at the head of the Milanese forces, hastened into Piedmont, to oppose the entrance of the French. The viceroy Cardona, with upwards of twelve thousand Spaniards, directed his march towards Vicenza, then occupied by the Venetian general d'Alviano; who not being prepared to contend with so great a force, retired in haste to the Brentel; in consequence of which Vicenza was plundered, and its stores of provisions sent to Verona. The Swiss, pouring down in large bodies from the mountains, had increased their army to upwards of thirty thousand men. Another body of Milanese was stationed at Cremona, to repress the depredations of Renzo da Ceri, who from his fortress at Crema, continued to harass the surrounding country. At the same time, the pope despatched his brother Giuliano as general of the church, at the head of three thousand Roman cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, to Bologna, whilst Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the Florentine republick, with two thousand horse and six thousand foot, took his station in the vicinity of Piacenza. [n]

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The

[n] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 112. Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria duke of Urbino, *fo.* 167, states the forces of Lorenzo at 800 men at arms, as many light horse, and 7000 infantry.

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The league proclaimed.

The views of the adverse parties were now fully disclosed; and whilst Francis I. was on the point of passing the Alps in the beginning of the month of August, the league between the pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Aragon, the states of Florence and of Milan, and the Swiss cantons, was solemnly proclaimed in Naples, Rome, and other principal places.[o] At the same juncture Henry VIII. sent an envoy to the French monarch, to admonish him not to disturb the peace of christendom, by carrying his arms into Italy;[p] but opposition and exhortation were now alike ineffectual; and Francis, having passed with his army into Dauphiny, was there joined by Robert de la Marck, at the head of the celebrated *bandes noires*, who were equally distinguished by their valour in the field, and by their fidelity to the cause which they espoused.

Genoa surrenders to the French fleet.

In order to engage the attention of the allies, whilst the French army was passing the Alps, Francis had despatched a flotilla, with four hundred men at arms and five thousand foot, under the command of Aymar de Prie, with orders to possess himself of the city of Genoa. On their arrival at Savona, that place immediately capitulated. Fregoso

[o] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 113.

[p] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 89.

Fregoso had now obtained a better opportunity of deserting his former friends, than had before presented itself. That he might not, however, a second time incur the imputation of treachery, he despatched messengers to the duke of Milan, to request instant succour from the allies, and as this did not speedily arrive, he opened the gates of Genoa to the French, and raised their standard in the city. The French general having accomplished his object without bloodshed, and being now reenforced by a body of troops from Fregoso, proceeded to Alexandria and Tortona, of both which places he possessed himself without difficulty, although the viceroy Cardona was strongly intrenched at Castellazzo; and even the city of Asti soon afterwards surrendered to the French arms. [q]

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Whilst this detachment was thus successfully employed, the body of the French army, under the command of Trivulzio, marshal of France, was effecting its passage over the Alps. They did not, however, follow the usual track from Grenoble to Susa, although it afforded the greatest facility for the conveyance of artillery; having had information, that the Swiss were assembled there

[q] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 418. *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 113.

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there, in great force, to oppose their progress, on the supposition that it would not be possible for the French to effect their passage in any other part. Choosing, therefore, rather to encounter the difficulties of a new and unexplored pass, than to attempt to force their way in the face of a bold and active enemy, who might annoy them at every step, they bent their course to the south, and proceeded between the maritime and Cottian Alps, towards the principality of Saluzzo.[r] In this undertaking, they underwent great labour, and surmounted incredible difficulties, being frequently obliged to hew through the rocks a path for their artillery, and to lower the cannon from the precipices with which the country abounds. Having, however, no fear of an attack, they divided their force into different bodies, each taking such direction as appeared most practicable, and in six days arrived in the vicinity of Embrun. The Milanese general, Prospero Colonna, lay encamped at Villa Franca, near the source of the Po, whence he intended to proceed towards Susa, for the purpose of joining his arms with those of the Swiss, to oppose the descent of the French. As he had not the most remote idea that the enemy could have effected a passage so far to the south, he was wholly unprepared for an attack; when the Sieur de

Prospero Colonna surprised and made prisoner.

[r] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 90, 91.

de Palisse at the head of a strong detachment, having availed himself of the services of the neighbouring peasants, surprised him whilst he was seated at table, and having dispersed his troops, made him and several of his chief officers prisoners.[a] This unexpected and disgraceful event, by which a great and experienced commander in whose abilities and integrity the allied powers had the fullest confidence, was lost to their cause, added to the successes of Aymar de Prie, spread a sudden panick throughout the country, and was more particularly felt by the pope, who relying on the courage and vigilance of the Swiss, had flattered himself that the French would not be able to force their way into Italy.

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The pope relaxes in his opposition to Francis I.

As the measures in which Leo had concurred for the publick defence, had been adopted rather through compulsion, than from any hostile disposition to the French monarch, for whom he still continued to profess the highest regard; so the earnest of success, which Francis had already obtained, induced him to relax still further in his opposition, lest he should eventually exasperate the young monarch beyond all hope of reconciliation. Hitherto, the troops of the church had taken no other part in the contest, than such as appeared necessary for the protection of the papal territories.

Unable

[a] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 91. *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 114.

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Unable to support the fatigues of a camp, Giuliano de' Medici had been attacked by a slow fever, in consequence of which he relinquished the command of the Roman troops to his nephew Lorenzo, and retired to Florence, in hopes of deriving advantage to his health, from the air of his native place. Three days after the capture of Colonna, Lorenzo arrived at Modena, between which place and Reggio he stationed his troops; the only active service which he had performed, having been the expulsion of Guido Rangone from the fortress of Rubiera. In this situation it became a subject of serious deliberation with the pope, whether he should order the Roman and Florentine troops to hasten and join the Swiss, who were obliged to retire before the French in all directions, or should avail himself of the opportunity which might yet remain of a reconciliation with the French monarch. In consulting his principal advisers, he found, at this important crisis, a great diversity of opinion among them. The cardinal da Bibbiena, and other courtiers, actuated rather by their fears of the French, than by a deliberate consideration of the circumstances in which the Roman pontiff was placed, earnestly advised him to humiliate himself to the king. They represented to him that the duke of Ferrara would undoubtedly seize this opportunity to recover the cities of Modena and Reggio, and that the Bentivoli would in like manner repossess themselves of Bologna; on which account it would be more prudent for the pope, rather to relinquish those places voluntarily,

voluntarily, than by an obstinate and hopeless defence, to endanger the safety of the states of the church. This pusillanimous advice was, however, opposed by the firmness of the cardinal de' Medici, who having lately been appointed legate of Bologna, and conceiving that the disgrace of its surrender would be imputed to his councils, exhorted the pope not to relinquish to its former tyrants one of the finest cities in the ecclesiastical state, nor to desert at such a crisis those noble and respectable inhabitants, who had adhered with such unshaken fidelity to his interests.[a] These representations, which the cardinal enforced by frequent messengers from Bologna, are said to have had a great effect on the mind of the pope, who resolved not to surrender any part of his territories, until he was compelled to it by irresistible necessity. If, however, on the one hand, he did not abandon himself to despair; on the other, he did not think it advisable to take the most conspicuous part among the allies, in opposing the progress of the king; but directed his general Lorenzo to keep his station on the south of the Po. At the same time, he despatched to Francis I. his confidential envoy, Cinthio da Tivoli, for the purpose of endeavouring,

[a] "Etiamsi honor noster vobis vilior esset, salutem certe "charam futuram puto tot nobilium fidelissimorumque "hominum, qui omnia sua devoverunt Romano Pontifici, "ut patriam tyrannis liberarent." *Ep. Julii Med. Card. ad Pont. ap. Fabr. in vita Leon* x. 90.

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ing, by the assistance of the duke of Savoy, to effect a new treaty; or at least, for the purpose, as it has been with no small probability conjectured, that in case the monarch should prove successful, the pope might be found in open negotiation with him.[t]

The Swiss resolve to oppose the French.

Nor did the allies of the pope, the Swiss alone excepted, discover any greater inclination than himself, to oppose the progress of the French. The emperour elect did not appear on this occasion, either in his own person, or by his representatives. The viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish army, after having long waited in vain at Verona for the reenforcements in men and money, which Maximilian had promised to furnish, quitted that place and proceeded to Piacenza, to join the troops under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici. In the mean time Francis had arrived with the remainder of his army at Turin, where he had met with a splendid reception from his near relation Charles III. duke of Savoy. As the Swiss found themselves closely pressed by the French, and wholly unsupported by their allies, who ought to have felt a much greater interest in the cause than themselves, they listened to the representations of the duke of Savoy, who had endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them and the king. Nor is

[t] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* iv. ii. 423. *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 92.

is it unlikely that his efforts would have been successful, had they not been frustrated by the remonstrances and exhortations of the cardinal of Sion, who being irreconcilably adverse to the cause of the French, and possessing great influence among his countrymen, stimulated them by every means in his power to persevere in the cause. He also repaired to Piacenza, where he prevailed on Cardona to furnish him with a supply of seventy thousand ducats, and a body of five hundred cavalry, under the command of Lodovico Orsino, count of Pitigliano, with which he returned to his countrymen; who upon this reenforcement, rejected the overtures of the king, and determined to seize the first favourable opportunity of bringing him to a decisive engagement. The arrival at this juncture of fresh levies of their countrymen confirmed them in this resolution; and although some of their leaders were still desirous of an accommodation, yet the increasing activity, and energetick harangues of the cardinal, had inflamed their resentment to such a degree, that the greater part of the army breathed only war and revenge.[a]

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During the irresolute state of the Swiss army, whilst these negotiations were carried on, they had quitted Novara on the approach of the king, who after

Francis summons the city of Milan to surrender.

[a] *Guicciard.* xii. ii. 95.

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after a cannonade of some days, compelled the inhabitants of that place to surrender, on terms which secured to them their safety and effects. He thence hastened to Pavia, which instantly surrendered to his arms, and passing the river Tesino, he despatched Trivulzio with the advanced guard towards Milan, in expectation that the inhabitants would openly espouse his cause. In this, however, he was disappointed. The sufferings which they had experienced on the last incursion of the French, had taught them the danger of a premature avowal of their sentiments, and they therefore determined to remain neuter, if possible, until the event of the contest was known. In order, however, to mitigate the resentment of the king, who had already advanced as far as Bufalora, they despatched an embassy to him, to entreat that he would not attribute their reluctance to obey his summons, to any disrespect either to his person or government, but that after having suffered so much on a former occasion by their attachment to his predecessor, they trusted they should not now be called upon to adopt such a conduct as might expose them to the resentment of his enemies. The difficulty of their situation justified in the mind of the monarch the temporizing neutrality which they professed; and with equal prudence and generosity he declared himself satisfied with their excuse.[v]

From

[v] *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* v. ii. 432.

From Bufalora the king proceeded to Biagrassa, whilst the Swiss assembled in great numbers at Galera. In this situation the duke of Savoy renewed his pacifick negotiations, and having given audience to twenty deputies sent to him with proposals on the part of the Swiss, he so far coincided in their representations, as to lay the foundation for a further treaty, for the completion of which he afterwards went to Galera, where the terms of the proposed reconciliation were explained and assented to. It was there agreed, that an uninterrupted peace should be established between the king and the Helvetick states, which should continue during his life, and ten years after his death; that the territories which the Swiss had usurped in the vallies of the Milanese should be restored, and the pension of forty thousand ducats paid to them from the state of Milan abolished; that the duke of Milan should have an establishment in France under the title of duke of Nemours, should ally himself by marriage to the reigning family, enjoy a pension of twelve thousand francs, and have an escort of fifty lances. For these concessions on the part of the Swiss, they were to receive six hundred thousand crowns, claimed by them under the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand for the restoration of the vallies, retaining four thousand men in arms for the service of the king. In this treaty the pope, in case he relinquished Parma and Piacenza, the emperour, the duke of Savoy and the Marquis of Montferrato, were included

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Ineffectually endeavours to form an alliance with the Swiss.

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cluded as parties and allies, but no mention was made either of his catholick majesty or the Venetians, or of any other of the Italian states.[w] The treaty was, however, no sooner concluded than it was broken, in consequence of the arrival of fresh bodies of Swiss, who holding the French in contempt, refused to adhere to the conditions agreed upon; whereby such a diversity of opinion arose among them, that although the chief part of the army agreed to remain for the defence of Milan, great numbers quitted the field and retired towards Como, on their return to their native country.

Rapid march of D'Alviano

This defection of a part of the Swiss army was not, however, so important as to damp the ardour of the rest. A body of thirty-five thousand men, accustomed to victory, and inflamed with the expectations of an immense booty, presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the king. In retiring from Verona to Piacenza, Cardona had eluded the vigilance of the Venetian general D'Alviano, who having the command of an army of upwards of ten thousand men, had assured the king that he would find sufficient employment for the Spanish troops. No sooner, therefore, was he informed of the movements of Cardona, than he quitted his station in the Polesine, and passing the Adige, proceeded along the banks of the Po towards

[w] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 92.

towards Cremona, with a celerity wholly unexampled in the commanders of those times, and which he was himself accustomed to compare to the rapid march of Claudius Nero, when he hastened to oppose the progress of Asdrubal.[x] On the approach of D'Alviano, Francis proceeded to Marignano, for the purpose not only of affording the Venetian general an opportunity of joining the French army, but also of preventing the union of the Swiss with the Spanish and papal troops.

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It may be admitted as a general maxim in the history of military transactions, that the efforts made by separate powers, in alliance with each other, are inferiour to those made with equal forces by a single power. On such occasions the post of danger is willingly conceded to those who choose to take the lead, and the proportionate aid to be given by each party, becomes at length so nicely balanced, that the common cause is often sacrificed to vain distinctions and distrustful timidity. Such was the situation of the Spanish general Cardona, and of Lorenzo de' Medici at Piacenza; where, whilst each of them stimulated the other to pass the Po to the aid of the Swiss, neither of them could be prevailed upon to take the first step for that purpose. In exculpation, however, of the Spaniards, it is alleged, that Cinthio da Tivoli, the

Inactivity of the Spanish and papal troops.

[x] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 95.

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the envoy of the pope to Francis I. having been seized upon by the Spanish troops, was compelled to disclose the purpose of his mission, in consequence of which Cardona lost all further confidence in the aid of the papal troops; and to this it is added, that Lorenzo had himself secretly despatched a messenger to the king, to assure him, that in opposing his arms he had no other motive than that of obedience to the commands of the papal see, and that he should avail himself of every opportunity, consistently with his own honour, of showing him how sincerely he was attached to his interests.[y] The concurring testimony of the historians of these times may be admitted as evidence of facts which the temporizing course of conduct adopted by the pope on this occasion renders highly probable. But it is equally probable, that Cardona availed himself of these circumstances, as his justification for not doing that which he would equally have declined doing, had they never occurred. Ferdinand of Aragon was at least as indecisive as the pontiff, and Cardona well knew the disposition of his sovereign. Day after day was appointed for the passage of the Po, and a part of the Spanish army had at one time made a movement for that purpose, but a pretext was easily found for their retreat; and the Swiss, deserted by those

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[y] *Muratori, Annali d'Italia* x. 114. *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* v. ii. 483. *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 96.

those allies who had called for their aid, were left, almost alone, to support a contest which was to decide the fate of Milan, and perhaps the independence of Italy. CHAP. XIII. 1515. Æt. 40.

Battle of Marignano.

At the conclusion of one of those inflammatory exhortations, with which the cardinal of Sion was accustomed to harangue his countrymen, the resolution was adopted instantly to attack the French, although only about two hours of day light remained. By a rapid and unexpected march, the whole body of the Swiss presented themselves before the French encampments at Marignano, on the thirteenth day of September, 1515.[a] The attack immediately commenced. Their impetuosity was irresistible. The intrenchments were soon carried, and a part of the artillery was already in the hands of the assailants. As the French recovered from their surprise, they began to make head against their adversaries, and the horse joining in the action, a dreadful engagement took place, which continued with various success, and great slaughter, to a late hour of the night. During this contest, Francis was in the midst of the battle, and received several wounds. The *bandes noires*, whom the Swiss had threatened with total extermination, contributed with the French *Gendarmerie* to retrieve the loss. The darkness of the night, although it did

[a] *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* x. 115.

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did not terminate the contest, rendered it for a time impossible for the combatants to proceed in the work of destruction; and an involuntary truce of some hours took place, during which both parties kept the field, impatiently waiting for that light which might enable them to renew the engagement. Accordingly, with the dawn of day the battle again commenced, when it appeared that the French monarch had availed himself of this interval to arrange his artillery, and to reduce his troops into better order than when they had been attacked on the preceding day. The vanguard was now led by the Sieur de Palisse with seven hundred lances, and ten thousand German infantry. The body of the army, under the royal standard, was commanded by the king, and consisted of eight hundred men at arms, ten thousand Germans, five thousand Gascons, and a large train of artillery, directed by the duke of Bourbon. Trivulzio led the *corps de reserve*, which consisted of five hundred lances, and five thousand Italian Infantry. The light infantry under the command of the Sieur de Chita, and the bastard of Savoy, brother of the king, were ordered to act as circumstances might require.[a] The attack of the Swiss was now supported with unshaken firmness. A detachment which was intended to surprise the right wing of the French army was intercepted by the duke of Alençon

[a] *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* x. 1. 16.

gon, and pursued by the Basque infantry of Pietro Navarro, who put every man to the sword.[b] After having resisted the charge, the French became the assailants. Francis at the head of his *Gendarmes* first made an impression on their line; but the numbers of the Swiss were so great, and their courage and discipline so exemplary, that he would in all probability have been repulsed, had not D'Alviano at that moment rushed into the midst of the combat, at the head of a small but select and intrepid body of cavalry, and by the cry of *Marco*, the war signal of the Venetians, given new courage to the French, and dispirited the ranks of their adversaries, who conceived that the Venetian army had at this juncture joined in the engagement. After sustaining the contest for several hours, the Swiss were obliged to relinquish the palm of victory; but even under these circumstances they had the firmness and resolution to form in regular order, and to quit the scene of action under such discipline, that the French monarch, whose army was exhausted by watchfulness and fatigue, did not venture on a pursuit.[c] Weakened by intestine divisions, deserted by their allies, and defeated by the French, they

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[b] *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* v. ii. 496.

[c] *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* v. ii. 498. *Planta's Helvetick Confederacy* ii. 112.

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they hastened to Milan, where they demanded from the duke such subsidies as they knew he was wholly unable to pay. This, however, afforded them a sufficient pretext for withdrawing themselves altogether from the theatre of war, and leaving their Italian allies to the mercy of the conquering army.[d]

Francis I. knighted by the chevalier Bayard.

The battle of Marignano is justly considered by both the French and Italian historians, as highly honourable to the gallantry and prowess of the French arms. The example of Francis I. who had, in the course of the conflict, repeatedly extricated himself from situations of imminent danger by his own personal courage, had animated his soldiers to the most daring acts of heroism; insomuch, that Trivulzio, who had before been engaged in no less than eighteen important battles, declared, that they resembled only the sports of children in comparison with this, which might truly be called a war of giants. The chevalier Bayard fought at the side of his sovereign, where he gave such proofs of romantick courage, that Francis, immediately after the engagement, insisted on being knighted by him upon the field of battle. The ceremony was instantly performed in the true spirit of chivalry, and Bayard, making two leaps, returned his sword into the scabbard, vowing

[d] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 101.

vowing never more to unsheath it, except against the Turks, the Saracens, and the Moors.[e] This victory is chiefly to be attributed to the superiority of the French artillery; but the arrival of D'Alviano, although accompanied by so small a body of soldiers, undoubtedly contributed to the success of the day. The number of Swiss left dead on the field is stated by different historians at eight, ten, fourteen, and even fifteen thousand; whilst the loss of the French varies from three to six thousand, among whom, however, were many of the chief nobility of France.[f] On this spot, polluted with carnage, Francis gave orders that three solemn masses should be performed, one to return thanks to God for the victory, another for the souls of those who were slain in battle, and a third to supplicate the restoration of peace. He also directed that a chapel should be built adjacent to the field of

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[e] "Certes, ma bonne épée, vous serez dores-en-avant "gardeé comme une relique, & honoreé sur toutes, & "jamais je ne vous porterai, si ce n'est contre les Turcs, "les Sarrasins, & les Maures." *Champier, ap. Moreri, Dict. Hist. Art. Bayard.*

[f] The author of the league of Cambray states the loss on the part of the French to have been between five and six thousand, and adds, that 15,000 Swiss were left dead on the field, *liv.* v. ii, 499, but Mr. Planta, on the authority of Schwickardt, informs us, that it appeared by a muster roll of the Swiss, after their return, that about five thousand men had perished in the action. *Hist. of the Helvetick Confed. vol.* ii. *p.* 112.

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Surrender of Milan.

No sooner was the event of the battle of Marignano known at Milan, than the duke Maximilian Sforza, accompanied by his general Giovanni Gonzaga, and his chancellor and confidential adviser, Morone, shut himself up in the castle, which was strongly fortified, and garrisoned by a considerable body of Swiss, Italian, and Spanish soldiers. The inhabitants of Milan, deprived of all means of defence, sent deputies to the king to testify their entire submission to his authority; but Francis refused to enter the city, conceiving that it would be derogatory from his honour, to take up his residence in a place, the fortress of which was yet held by his enemies.[s] Operations were therefore instantly commenced against the castle, under the direction of Pietro Navarro, who promised to reduce it in less than a month; but although he was successful in destroying a part of the fortifications, it is probable that the task which he had undertaken would have required considerable time, had not the assailants found means to open a negotiation with the principal advisers of the duke. Influenced by the treacherous recommendation, or the dastardly apprehensions of Morone, the duke was induced to listen to terms of accommodation

[s] *Ligue de Cambray, liv.* v. ii. 504.

modation, by which he agreed, not only to surrender the fortress of Milan, and that of Cremona, which was yet held by his friends, but also to relinquish for ever the sovereignty of Milan and its dependant states. As a compensation for these concessions, Francis agreed to use his influence with the pope, to appoint Maximilian a cardinal, with ecclesiastical preferments and benefices to the annual amount of thirty-six thousand livres, promising to pay him, in the mean time, a pension to the like amount, and also to advance him, within the space of two years, ninety-four thousand livres, to be disposed of at his own pleasure. A provision was also made for the other members of the house of Sforza; and Morone, who negotiated the treaty, stipulated that he should himself enjoy the rank of a senator of Milan, with the office of master of requests of the hotel to the king.[h] Thus terminated the brief government of Maximilian Sforza; without his having, by his misfortunes, excited in others any of those sensations of sympathy or regret which usually accompany those who have suddenly fallen from high rank into the mediocrity of private life. The only observation recorded of him, upon this occasion, is an expression of his satisfaction, on being at length freed from the tyranny of the Swiss, the persecution of the emperour elect, and the deceit of Ferdinand of Aragon;

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[h] This treaty is published by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplomat.* i. 523.

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gon;[1] a remark which is, however, no proof of that want of intellect which has been imputed to him, but which on the contrary shows that he had compared the advantages of sovereignty with the inconveniences and dangers that attend it, and had reconciled himself to that destiny, which it was no longer in his power to resist.

Leo X. forms an alliance with Francis I.

The cautious pontiff, who had waited only to observe from what quarter the wind of fortune would blow, no sooner found that the French monarch had defeated the Swiss, and subjugated the state of Milan, than he exerted all the means in his power to obtain the favour and secure the alliance of the conqueror. Had he stood in need of an apology to his allies for this apparent versatility, he might have found it in the temporizing negotiations of the Swiss before the engagement, and their speedy desertion after it; in the hesitating conduct of the viceroy Cardona, and the total inattention of the emperour elect to the interests of the league; but it is probable that he was much more anxious to excuse himself to the king, for the apparent opposition which he had manifested to his views, than to his allies for his dereliction of a cause which was now become hopeless. He did not, however, on this emergency omit the usual forms of exhorting his associates to bear their misfortunes with constancy,

[1] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 105.

stancy, and to repair them by their courage; but whilst he thus endeavoured to support a consistency of conduct in the eyes of the world, he had already engaged the duke of Savoy to unite his efforts with those of his envoy, Lodovico Canossa, to effect an alliance with the king. In truth, the situation of the pope was such as would not admit of longer delay. Already the king had given orders to construct a bridge over the Po, for proceeding to the attack of Parma and Piacenza; and although a veneration for the Roman see might prevent him from attacking the ecclesiastical dominions, this sentiment did not apply to the state of Florence, which had taken a decided and hostile part against his arms. Fortunately, however, for the pope, the king was not averse to a reconciliation, which, whilst it relieved him from those spiritual censures which had occasioned such anxiety and humiliation to his predecessor, might be of essential service to him in securing the possession of his newly acquired dominions. A conference was accordingly held, when it was proposed that the the pope and the king should mutually assist each other in the defence of their respective dominions; that the king should take under his protection the state of Florence, and the family of Medici, particularly Giuliano the brother, and Lorenzo the nephew of the pontiff, and should maintain to them and their descendants the authority which they enjoyed in the Florentine state. On the part of the pope it was proposed, that he should surrender to the

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the king the cities of Parma and Piacenza; the king promising in return, that his subjects in Milan should be obliged to purchase their salt from the ecclesiastical states. It had also been proposed that the duke of Savoy should be authorized to inquire and determine whether the Florentines had infringed their treaty with Louis XII. in which case he should impose upon them such penalty as he might think reasonable, the king expressly declaring, that this clause was introduced rather to satisfy his own honour, than for any other cause. But although these propositions were assented to by Canossa, they were by no means satisfactory to the pope, who had flattered himself with the expectation of retaining the states of Parma and Piacenza; and would have gladly postponed the ratification of the treaty, in the hopes of hearing the determination of the Helvetick diet assembled at Zurich, for the purpose of debating on the expediency of giving fresh succours to the duke of Milan. But Canossa having assured the pope that the French monarch had already made preparations for attacking the papal dominions in Lombardy, and despatching a body of troops into the Tuscan states, the pope had no alternative but to conclude the treaty. He did not, however, ratify it without some modifications, the principal of which was, that the Florentines should not be subjected to any penalty or inquiry with respect to their pretended breach of faith to Louis XII. It was also expressly agreed, that the king should not protect any feudatory or subject

ject of the ecclesiastical state against the just rights of the Roman see; a stipulation which although expressed as a matter of course, and in such vague and general terms, as perhaps not to be fully understood by the king, had objects of no inconsiderable importance in view, which a short time sufficiently disclosed.[j]

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Francis was well aware that the pope had suffered great mortification in being deprived of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, and he therefore endeavoured to justify himself for the part which he had acted, by alleging that they were a portion of the states of Milan, which he could not, consistently with his honour, relinquish. In order, however,

j *Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 214. The treaty bears date the 13th day of October, 1515. The editor remarks, that it was concluded at a single conference, so greatly was the pope alarmed in consequence of the battle of Marignano; but in this he is mistaken, as the proposed terms gave rise to much negotiation, and were considerably modified. It is remarkable also, that in the title of the treaty, the editor styles Lorenzo de' Medici, *duke of Urbino*, although he certainly did not obtain that title until the following year. There is reason to suspect that even the treaty as there given is erroneous or imperfect. In the course of the discussion, the pope's envoy Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, hastened to Rome and had an interview with the pope, when some modifications were proposed, and Leo wrote to the king to conciliate his favour.

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however, to reconcile the pope to this sacrifice, and to lay the foundation of a lasting amity between them, he requested to be admitted to an interview with him, which on the part of Leo X. was assented to, not only with willingness but alacrity. It is not improbable, that on this occasion the pontiff conceived, that he might be enabled by his eloquence and personal address, to influence the young sovereign to admit of some relaxation in the severity of the terms agreed on; or at least that it might afford him an opportunity of indemnifying himself for his losses, and providing for the establishment of his family in some other quarter. He did not, however, think it prudent to admit the king into either Rome or Florence, but named for that purpurpose the city of Bologna, where he promised to meet him as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for their reception.

Embassy from the Venetians to Francis I.

Encouraged by the success of Francis I. the Venetians began to entertain hopes that they should be enabled to recover their continental possessions, of which they had been dispossessed by the Imperialists and the Spaniards, in consequence of the league of Cambray. They therefore despatched to the king at Milan, an embassy, consisting of four of their most respectable citizens, to congratulate him on his success, and to concur with him in such measures as might appear conducive to the mutual interests of himself and the republick. The ambassadours

bassadours were accompanied by the learned Battista Egnazio, who by his extraordinary acquirements, had raised himself from a humble rank to great consideration among his countrymen, and who upon this occasion gave an additional proof of his talents, in the composition of a Latin panegyrick on Francis I. in heroick verse, celebrating his arrival in Italy, and his victory over the Swiss. This poem he soon afterwards published with a dedication to Antoine Prato, grand chancellor of France; and the king, as a mark of his approbation, gave the author a medallion of gold with his own portrait.[k]

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Whilst the Venetians were thus soliciting the king, and preparing their own forces for the recovery of their continental possessions, the sudden death of their chief general Bartolommeo D'Alviano, which happened at Gheddi, on the first day of October, 1515, retarded for a while their efforts, and dispirited their troops. During twenty five days, the Venetian soldiers, then proceeding to the attack of Brescia, carried along with them, in great pomp,

Death of Bartolommeo D'Alviano.

[k] This piece, which greatly increased the reputation of its author, was again printed in the year 1540, with considerable additions, commemorating the heroick actions of the ancestors of Francis I. against the Saracens, and common enemies of the Christian faith; but instead of inscribing this new edition to the chancellor, the author thought proper to dedicate it to the king himself. *Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio. negli Opuscoli di Calogerà,* xxxiii. 65.

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pomp, the body of their favourite commander, determined to convey it to Venice for interment. Nor would they condescend to ask a passport from Marc-Antonio Colonna, who then commanded the Imperial troops, it having been gallantly observed by Teodoro Trivulzio, son of the marshal, that such a request ought not to be made after his death, for a man who whilst living had never feared his enemies.[1] His remains were accordingly interred at Venice, by a decree of the senate, with extraordinary honours. His funeral oration was pronounced by the celebrated Andrea Navagero, then very young, in a strain of eloquence which may be considered as the earnest of his future celebrity. If we assent to the opinion of Guicciardini, D'Alviano was rather a brave soldier than a skilful general. He was not only frequently defeated, but it had been observed, that whenever he held the chief command he had never obtained the victory. Yet it must be confessed, that the man who by his activity, courage and perseverance, could frustrate the efforts of such a powerful alliance as had been formed against the Venetian states, had no slight pretensions to the applause and gratitude of his country. In the elegant Latin oration of Navagero which yet remains,[m] are briefly enumerated the principal transactions

[1] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 106.

[m] Printed with other works of Navagero at Venice, by Tacuni, in 1530, under the title, *Andreæ Naugerii Patricii Venet*

actions of his active life; and we learn from the same authority, that his few hours of leisure were sedulously devoted to the cultivation of literature, in which he had made a much greater proficiency than could have been expected from a person devoted to the ceaseless activity of a military life.[n] Of the solidity of his judgment a sufficient proof may be found in the early patronage which he afforded to Girolamo Fracastoro, who was destined to be one of the principal literary ornaments of the age, and who was chiefly indebted to this celebrated commander for those opportunities of improvement which have conferred immortality on his name.

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The important changes which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, naturally led to some alteration in the conduct of the pontiff towards the other sovereigns of Europe, and particularly towards Henry VIII. between whom and Francis I. a degree of emulation had arisen, which was already sufficiently

Wolsey raised to the dignity of cardinal.

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*Veneti Orationes duæ, carminaque nonnulla.* 4°, and again in the enlarged edition of the works of Navagero, by Comino, Padua, 1718, 4°.

[n] "Ingenio vero tam acri fuit, ut, cum literis paululum "admodum vacasset, tam apte, tam acutè, tam cum omnium liberalium artium peritis, quod sæpius facere consueverat, de his ipsis, quæ illorum artibus continentur, rebus loqueretur, ut omnia de illis scripta evolvisse, omnia excussisse videretur." *Naugerii Orat. in funere Bart. Liviani, fr. 7. Ed. Tacuin.* 1530.

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ciently apparent. On the death of Cardinal Bambridge, Wolsey had succeeded him as archbishop of York; but this preferment, although it increased the revenues, did not gratify the ambition of this aspiring ecclesiastick, who had flattered himself with the hope of obtaining also the hat of a cardinal, lately worn by his predecessor. In soliciting from the pope this distinguished favour, Wolsey had relied on the assistance of Adrian de Corneto, bishop of Bath, and cardinal of S. Crisogono, the pope's collector in England, under whom, as the cardinal resided at Rome, Polydoro Virgilio acted as sub-collector. [o] The cardinal was either unable, or unwilling, to render the service expected; and such was the resentment of Wolsey, who conceived that he had been betrayed by him, that under

[o] Polydoro Virgilio was a native of Urbino, and distinguished himself by several well known works, particularly his Latin collection of proverbs, published in 1498, and by his treatise *de Inventoribus Rerum*, published in 1499, which has since been frequently reprinted. He was sent to England in the pontificate of Alexander VI. and at the request of Henry VII. undertook in the year 1505, his history of England, which he wrote in Latin, but which has not gained him the suffrages of posterity, either for ability or impartiality. He was afterwards appointed archdeacon of Wells, but in consequence of the reformation, he quitted this kingdom and retired to his native place, where he lived to an advanced age, and died in 1555. *Bayle, Dict. Art. Pol. Virgile.*

der some trivial pretext, he seized upon his deputy Polydoro, and committed him to the tower.[p] This violent measure had been the subject of frequent representations from the court of Rome; but although the cardinal Giulio de Medici, and the pope himself had written to the king, requesting the liberation of their agent, he still remained in confinement. The apparent disrespect thus manifested by the English monarch to the holy see, had induced the pontiff to listen to the representations of Francis I. who was extremely earnest to obtain the restoration of Louis Guilliard, ex-bishop of Tournay, to that rich benefice, of which he had been deprived by the intrusion of Wolsey. Whilst the pope was yet hesitating, not perhaps as to the rights of the respective claimants, but as to which of the rival sovereigns it would be most expedient to attach to his interests, the success of the French arms effected a speedy decision, and Leo immediately granted a papal bull for restoring Guilliard to his benefice, and even authorizing him to make use of the secular arm for obtaining possession. It may well be conceived that this measure gave great offence, not only to Wolsey, but to Henry VIII. who had lately incurred an immense expense in fortifying the city of Tournay; and warm remonstrances were made upon it to the court of Rome,

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[p] *Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p.* 51.

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Rome, in consequence of which the business was referred to the decision of two cardinals, who showed no great disposition to bring it to a speedy termination. In the mean time Francis, who was well apprized where the chief difficulty lay, conceived that if he could obtain for Wolsey an equivalent for the loss of his bishoprick, he should find no further obstacles from that quarter. He therefore gave him to understand that he should promote his interests at Rome to the utmost of his power.[q] In the weighty discussions now depending between Francis and the pontiff, the appointment of a cardinal was an object of small comparative importance. The promotion of Wolsey to the dignity of a cardinal was determined on, of which Francis took care to send Wolsey the first intelligence;[r] and at a consistory held for that purpose on the tenth day of September, 1515, he was the sole person raised to that high rank, his title being that of *S. Cecilia trans Tiberim.* About the same time the pope's agent in England was liberated from his confinement; but Wolsey having obtained his object, still refused to relinquish his claims to the bishoprick of Tournay; and is supposed to have stimulated his sovereign to a new quarrel

[q] *Lord Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p.* 51. *Ed. Lond* 1740.

[r] *Ibid.*

quarrel with Francis, for the purpose of affording himself a pretext for retaining the emoluments of his see.

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The arrangements for the intended interview between Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna, being now completed, Leo communicated his intention to the college of cardinals, some of whom ventured to insinuate that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the pontiff, to receive the king in any other place than Rome. Without regarding their suggestions, he directed the cardinals to meet together at Viterbo, on the approaching festival of All Souls; and to the absent cardinals he addressed a circular letter to the same effect. On his quitting the city with the intention of paying a visit to Florence before he proceeded to Bologna, he intrusted the chief authority to the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere, as his legate; not on account of his own attachment to him; but, as it was supposed, because he was apprehensive, that if the cardinal accompanied him to Florence, his presence might remind the citizens of their former liberties. It was the intention of the pontiff to have proceeded from Rome to Siena, but the number of his followers, consisting of twenty cardinals with their attendants, and an immense train of prelates and officers of the court, alarmed the inhabitants of that place, who sent a deputation to him, whilst yet on the road, to apprize him,

Leo X. visits Florence.

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that in the scarcity of provisions under which they laboured, it would be impossible for them to provide for such a multitude. He therefore changed his route and proceeded towards Cortona, where he was magnificently entertained for three days in the house of Giulio Passerini, one of the nobles attendant on his court, and gave audience to six of the principal inhabitants of Florence, who were deputed to meet and to pay him homage in the names of their fellow citizens. On leaving Cortona he passed through Arezzo, and arrived on the twenty sixth day of November, in the vicinity of Florence, where he took up his residence for a few days at Marignolle, the villa of Jacopo Gianfiliazzi, until the preparations making for his reception within the city could be completed. These preparations were much impeded by a long continuance of rainy weather, but the inclemency of the season did not prevent the inhabitants from displaying their usual magnificence and invention; and the exhibitions upon this occasion employed the talents of the first professors, in a city which was the centre of the arts, and at a period when they had attained their highest excellence. [s]

At

[s] "A dì 26 di Novembre arrivò (Leone X.) a Marig-
"nolle, a casa di Giacopo di Bongianni Gianfiliazzi, un
"miglio lontano dalla città, e quivi dimorò tre giorni a ri-
"posarsi; perchè gli apparati, e i trionfi non erano all' or-
"dine,

At the approach of the pontiff, the gates and part of the walls of the city were thrown down,[t] and the exultation of the populace was unbounded, whilst his presence reminded them, at the same time, of the honour which his high rank conferred on

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" dine, per esser piovuto un mese ;" *Cambii, Hist. Flor. ap. Moreni.* The visit of the pontiff to this place, is also commemorated by the following inscription at Marignolle :

LEO X. PONT. MAX.
CUM PRIMUM PONT. FLORENTIAM VENIRET,
OB ANTIQUAM FIDEM DEVOTIONEM,
ET MERITA GIANFILIAZIAE FAMILIAE ET IN EA JACOBI
FILIORUMQUE EJUS,
SUBURBANUM HOC INTER TOT ALIA ELEGIT,
IN QUO TRIDUUM ESSET DUM ACCESSUS EI AD URBEM
PARARETUR
A DIE XXVII. AD XXX. NOVEMBRIS, M. D. XV.
PONT. SUI ANNO III.
*Dulcis et alta quies,* DECIMO *pergrata* LEONI,
*Hic fuit ; hinc sacrum jam reor esse locum.*

[t] The pope entered the city by the gate of S. Piero Gattolini. *Vasar. Ragionam. p.* 92, over the portal of which is placed the following inscription :

LEO X. PRIMUS IN FLORENTINA GENTE
E NOBILISSIMA MEDICEORUM FAMILIA PONT. MAX.
BONONIAM PROFICISCENS FLORENTIAM PATRIAM SUAM
PRIMUS IN EO HONORE INTRAVIT,
DIRUTA HUJUS MURI PARTE
MAGNIFICENTISSIMOQ. RERUM OMNIUM APPARATU
ET LAETISSIMO TOTIUS CIVITATIS PLAUSU EXCEPTUS
DIE XXX. NOVEMBRIS MDXV. PONTIFICATUS SUI
ANNO III.

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on them, and of the happiness which they had enjoyed under the mild and paternal authority of his ancestors. At the entrance of the city was erected a triumphal arch, richly decorated with historical sculpture, the workmanship of Jacopo di Sandro and Baccio da Montelupo. Another arch in the *Piazza di S. Felice* was completed by Giuliano del Tasso; in which was placed the statue of Lorenzo the magnificent, the father of the pontiff, with a motto pathetically appropriate, although perhaps profanely applied;[u] at the sight of which the pope appeared to be deeply affected. The same artist also exhibited at the *S. Trinita*, a bust of Romulus, and several beautiful statues, and erected in the *Mercato nuovo*, a column resembling that of Trajan at Rome. Antonio da S. Gallo built in the *Piazza de' Signori*, an octangular temple, and Baccio Bandinelli placed in the *Loggie*, a colossal figure of Hercules. Between the monastery and the palace, a triumphal arch was erected by Francesco Granacci and Aristotile da S. Gallo; and another in the quarter of the *Bischeri* by Rosso Rossi, with great variety of ornaments and figures, and with appropriate inscriptions in honour of the pontiff.[v] But the work which

Rejoicings and exhibitions on that occasion.

[u] *Hic est filius meus dilectus.*

[v] *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori* ii. 224. *in vita di Andrea del Sarto.*

which was chiefly admired was the front of the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, which was covered with a temporary *façade*, from the design of Jacopo Sansovino, who decorated it with statues and *bassi relievi;* in addition to which the pencil of Andrea del Sarto, enriched it with historical subjects in *chiaro-scuro*, executed in such a manner as to produce a most striking effect; a mode of ornament the invention of which is attributed by Vasari to Lorenzo, father of the pontiff, and which was highly commended by Leo X. who declared, that the structure could not have appeared more beautiful if the whole had been built of marble. Many other works of art are commemorated by contemporary writers, some of which were executed from the designs of Baccio Bandinelli, and were displayed in such profusion, as almost to fill the streets through which the pontiff had to pass.[w]

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The ceremonial order of the procession was arranged with great attention by Paris de Grassis,[x] from

Procession of the pope.

[w] A very particular account of these splendid preparations is given by a contemporary writer, whose narration yet remains unpublished, but from which a passage is extracted by Dom. Moreni, in his annotations on the work of Paris de Grassis, mentioned in the following note.

[x] On this occasion, Paris de Grassis accompanied the pope to Florence, as his master of the ceremonies, during which he continued his diary; in which he inserted, as usual, every circumstance that occurred. His narration has

CHAP. XIII. 1515. Æt. 40. from the inferiour ranks of valets, heralds, and horsemen, to the great officers of the pope's household, nobles, ambassadours, and independent princes of Italian states. In this task he found, however, no small difficulty; for as there were three ambassadours from France, and only one from Spain, the Spanish envoy insisted on being placed next to the first of the French envoys, so that the other two should follow him. To this the French envoy positively objected, alleging, that on a former occasion, when there were three Spanish ambassadours and one from England, and the English envoy claimed the privilege of following after the first of the Spaniards, they refused to allow themselves to be separated, and insisting that the same rule should be applied to them, which they had applied to others; whereupon the Spaniard quitted the procession in disgust. To these succeeded the magistrates of Florence on foot, the guards of the pope, and Lorenzo de' Medici with fifty followers. The host was born by the clerk of the papal chapel, preceded by tapers, and placed under a canopy, supported by canons of the church. Next

has been given to the publick by Domenico Moreni, under the title *De ingressu Summi Pont. Leonis* x. *Florentiam Descriptio Paridis de Grassis Civis Bononiensis Pisauriensis Episcopi Ex. Cod. MS. nunc primum in lucem edita et notis illustrata a Domenico Moreni Academiæ Florentinæ nec non Columbariæ Socio.*

Next appeared the cardinals, according to their distinctions of deacons, priests, and bishops, who were succeeded by one hundred young men of noble families, superbly and uniformly dressed. The master of the papal ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, bishop of Pesaro, with his assistants, immediately preceded the pope, who appeared under a canopy, which was carried by the Gonfaloniere and chief magistrates of Florence, and followed by the chamberlains, physicians, secretaries, and other officers of the pope's household. Among these was his treasurer, who during their progress, distributed money among the crowd; for which purpose the pope had appropriated a sum of three thousand ducats. A long train of prelates and ecclesiasticks followed, and the horse guards of the pope brought up the rear. In this manner the procession passed towards the church of *S. Maria del Fiore*, the pope frequently stopping to observe the inscriptions and trophies which appeared in his way. On his arrival at the church, he found an elevated path prepared, on which he proceeded, with a few attendants, from the entrance to the high altar, whilst the rest of his followers remained in the church below. Here he continued in prayer a longer time than usual; after which, the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, as archbishop of Florence, chanted the service and recited the oration. The pope then gave his benediction, and plenary indulgence, to all present, after which he retired to relax from his fatigues, in the adjacent monastery of

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of *S. Maria Novella*, whilst the evening was passed by the populace in joyful acclamations. The repose of the night was disturbed by the firing of cannon, which the prudent master of the ceremonies had strictly prohibited during the day, lest the horses of the secular attendants, and the terrified mules of the ecclesiasticks, should throw their riders on the pavement.

Leo X. visits the tomb of his father.

On the following day the pope visited the church of the *Annunciata*, where having some doubts whether he should unveil the celebrated image of the virgin, he consulted the cardinals present on this important question, by whose advice the veil was drawn aside at three short intervals. Thence he proceeded to take up his residence at his paternal mansion, where he found his brother Giuliano confined to his bed by a tedious and hopeless complaint. The third day after his arrival, being the first Sunday in advent, was devoted to the performance of divine service, in the chapel of the Medici family, dedicated to S. Lorenzo. On the conclusion of the ceremony, Leo X. turned to the spot where the remains of his father were deposited, and whilst he prostrated himself in the attitude of supplication, he was observed by his attendants to shed tears. [y]

On

[y] *Fabr. in vita Leon.* x. *p.* 95. The visit of the pontiff to the church of S. Lorenzo, was commemorated in the

On the evening of the last mentioned day, the pontiff quitted the city of Florence and proceeded to Bologna, where he met with a very different reception from that with which he had been honoured in his native place. The inhabitants, still attached to their banished chiefs of the family of Bentivoli, and mindful of the severities exercised upon them by Julius II. received the pope in sullen silence; except when the sound of *Serra, Serra,*[s] resounded in his ears, as he passed in procession through the streets. This circumstance gave great offence to many of the cardinals, who thought that the pontiff should have manifested his displeasure on such an occasion. Leo, however, judged much better than his attendants, and availed himself of this opportunity of displaying his moderation and forbearance; qualities for which he was remarkable,

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The pope arrives at Bologna.

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the following lines of Marcello Adriani Virgilio, chancellor of the republick, which were afterwards inscribed over the great door of the church:

"Divus Laurentius,
"ad Leonem X. Pont. Max.
"Hanc mihi, Sancte Pater, Cosmus cum conderet aedem,
"Gaudebam, Proavi religione tui;
"Delectavit Avus, delectavere Parentes,
"Quorum ope creverunt Templa sacrata mihi.
"Sed, Pronepos, majora dabis pietate; Parentes
"Pontificem turpe est non superasse suos."

[s] A *saw*, the impresa, or arms of the Bentivoli.

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remarkable, and which, in general, not only disarm resentment, but often convert an unjust or mistaken adversary into a faithful friend.

Interview between Lep X. and Francis I.

Three days afterwards, Francis I. who had been accompanied from Parma by four prelates sent for that purpose by the pope, was received on the confines of the ecclesiastical state by the cardinals de' Medici, and Flisco, and conducted to Bologna, where all the members of the sacred college proceeded to meet him beyond the gate of S. Felice.[a] After they had waited there a short time, the king made his appearance between the two pontifical legates, and was welcomed by a short address in Latin from the cardinal bishop of Ostia, who remained uncovered whilst he delivered it, as did also the other cardinals. To this the king, who was also uncovered, replied in French, assuring them that he considered himself as the son of his holiness, that he was thoroughly devoted to the apostolick see, and desirous of rendering every service in his power to the college of cardinals, as being his fathers and his brethren. Having addressed himself particularly to every one of the cardinals, they then approached him in succession, and gave him a fraternal kiss; the master of the pontifical ceremonies at the same time informing him

[a] The particulars of this interview are related by Paris de Grassis.

him of the name and quality of each cardinal as he approached. After this exhibition, they proceeded together towards the city, the king being placed between the cardinals Sanseverino and Este; but the attendants of the monarch disregarded the admonitions of the officer, whose duty it was to regulate the proceedings of the day, and followed in a disorderly and tumultuous manner. He was thus conducted to the apartments provided for him in the palace, where four cardinals remained as his companions, and dined with him at the same table. The pope, having in the mean time been arrayed in his pontifical garments, and seated in full consistory, expected the approach of the king, who was introduced by the master of the ceremonies between two cardinals, attended by six prelates, and followed by such an immense multitude, as well of the populace, as of French and Romans, that great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the building. The king was himself upwards of half an hour in making his way through the crowd; a circumstance which he seems, however, to have born with great good humour. Arriving at length in the presence of the pope, he made his due genuflexions, and having complied with the humiliating ceremony of kissing the foot and the hand of his holiness, was next allowed the more familiar honour of kissing his cheek. The king then expressed in a few words, in his native language, his great satisfaction in having been allowed a personal interview with the supreme pontiff,

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pontiff, the vicar of Christ upon earth; professing himself desirous of obeying all his commands as his dutiful son and servant. The pope replied in Latin, with great gravity and propriety, attributing so happy and satisfastory an event entirely to the goodness of God. Francis then took a seat provided for him on the right hand of the pope, whilst his chancellor delivered a Latin oration, in which, in the name of his sovereign, he acknowledged the supremacy of the holy see, and commended the fidelity of the French monarchs and particularly that of his sovereign Francis I. to the church. At the same time the king would have uncovered his head, but the pope prevented him. At the conclusion of the harangue, Francis bowed in token of his assent, when the pope again addressed him in a few words, commending his dutiful fidelity. Such of the French nobility and attendants as could force their way through the crowd, were then admitted to kiss the feet of the pontiff, but the dukes of Bourbon and of Orleans, with Monsignor de Vallebrune, were the only persons who were allowed to kiss his hand and face. This ceremony being performed, the pope led the king into a chamber, which commanded a view of the principal street of the city; where having left him for a short time, he hastened to remove the encumbrance of his pontifical robes, and on his return entered with him into familiar conversation. On this occasion, the vigilant master of the ceremonies cautioned his holiness against touching his cap, in token of respect

to

to the monarch, whilst they were seen together by the populace; a mark of attention which it seems Alexander VI. had imprudently shown to Charles VIII. on their interview; this ecclesiastical Polonius contending, that it did not become the vicar of Christ to exhibit any reverence towards a sovereign, even if he were the emperour himself.



Particular occurrences on that occasion.

During the continuance of the two potentates in Bologna, they resided together in the palace of the city, and had frequent conferences on the important subjects which had been the occasion of their interview. The endeavours of the king were exerted to prevail upon the pope to unite his arms with those of France, for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy; but as these efforts, if successful, would have enabled Francis to have seized upon the crown of Naples, and given him a preponderating authority in Italy, the pope, without a direct opposition, affected to postpone the measure; alleging, that he could not, in so ostensible a manner, infringe the treaty which then subsisted between Ferdinand of Aragon and himself, and of which sixteen months were yet unexpired.[b] With no greater effect did the king employ his efforts to prevail on the pope to surrender the cities of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, or to moderate his resentment, and relinquish his designs against the duke of Urbino

[b] *Jovii in vita Leon. x. lib. iii. fo. 70.*

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bino. To the former he refused to assent, unless he was repaid the money which he had advanced to the emperour, on being invested with the sovereignty of Modena; and with respect to the latter, he contended, that the duke of Urbino had forfeited his dominions, which he held as a vassal of the church, by not joining his arms, when required, with those of the pope, under the command of Lorenzo de' Medici. But although the pope firmly resisted every proposition which tended to the further abridgment of his power, he was indefatigable in his attention to his royal guest, whom he entertained with the utmost splendour and magnificence. He also bestowed on him as a mark of his esteem, a cross ornamented with jewels, estimated at the value of fifteen thousand ducats, and presented to the beautiful and accomplished Maria Gaudin, a diamond of immense value which has since been called the Gaudin diamond.[c] The numerous attendants of the king were also treated with particular honour and respect; the pontiff being no less desirous of obliterating, in the minds of the French people, the animosities which had been excited by the violence of Julius II. than of impressing them with an exalted idea of the resources and grandeur of the Roman see. Nor is it

[c] "Ce joyau, est appellé, par tradition domestique, le "diamant Gaudin." *Amelot, Mem. Hist ap. Fabron. Leon. X. not.* 42.

it improbable, that the genial warmth of pontifical kindness found its way into those bosoms, which the frowns of his predecessor had hardened into animosity and resistance. In the midst of a solemn interview, one of the French nobles, apparently affected by a sentiment of contrition for the part which he had acted in opposition to the holy see, called out aloud in French, that he wished to make his confession to his holiness, and that as he could not be admitted to do it in private, he would in publick acknowledge, that he had fought against Julius II. with the utmost resentment, and had paid no regard to his spiritual censures. To this the king added, that he had himself been guilty of a similar offence. Many others of the French nobility made the same acknowledgment, and requested forgiveness from the pope; whereupon Leo, stretching out his hands, gave them his absolution and pontifical benediction. The king then turning to the pope, said, "Holy father, you must "not be surprised that we were such enemies to "Julius II. because he was always the greatest "enemy to us; insomuch, that in our times we "have not met with a more formidable adversary. "For he was in fact a most excellent commander, "and would have made a much better general of "an army, than a Roman pontiff."[d]

In

[d] This anecdote is related on the authority of P. de Grassis.

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In addition to these proofs of liberality and good will on the part of the pontiff, an opportunity also occurred of rendering the monarch a much more important service, in a matter which he had greatly at heart. For several centuries the French clergy had claimed, and frequently exercised, an exemption in particular cases from that general control in ecclesiastical affairs, which was assumed by the holy see; an exemption which is the foundation of what have been called the rights of the gallican church. Pretensions of this nature are on record as early as the reign of St. Louis, and are probably of still greater antiquity; but in the year 1438, the council of Basil, then acting in direct opposition to Eugenius IV. who had assembled another council at Florence, formed several canons for the future regulation of the church, which greatly restricted the power of the supreme pontiff, and abolished many of the most glaring abuses in ecclesiastical discipline. In consequence of the rejection of these canons by Eugenius, the council passed a decree, deposing him from his pontifical dignity, but Eugenius triumphed over his opponents, and these regulations were not confirmed by the head of the church; notwithstanding which, they were approved by Charles VII. of France, who expressly recommended them to the adoption of the assembly of divines, then met at Bourges under

Abolition of the *pragmatick sanction*, and establishment of the *concordat*.

under the title of the pragmatick council.[e] By this assembly, these regulations were admitted as the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline in France, and its decision has been distinguished by the name of *the pragmatick sanction*. Notwithstanding the attempts of succeeding pontiffs to abrogate these canons, as impious and heretical, they were firmly adhered to by the French clergy and people, as highly conducive to the welfare and repose of the kingdom. Nor had the sovereigns of France been less attached to a system, which freed them in a great measure from the influence of the Romish see; submitted the nomination of benefices to the approbation of the king; prohibited the payment of *annates*, and other exorbitant claims of the Roman court; and abolished the scandalous custom of selling ecclesiastical dignities, which was practised not only as they became vacant, but during the life of the possessor, and as a reversionary interest. Hence, notwithstanding the authority of the advocates of the Romish see, who have asserted or insinuated that these canons were abrogated by succeeding monarchs, and in particular by Louis XI. and Louis XII. the claims of the French clergy

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[e] *S. S. Concilia. tom.* xii. *p.* 1430. *Ed. Labbei et Cossartii. Par.* 1672. The history of the council of Basil is written by Eneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. who was present on the occasion, and is published in the *Fasciculi. rerum expetend. et fugiend. tom.* i. *p.* 1.

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clergy under the pragmatick sanction, were still considered as in full force.[f] In agitating this important question, the object of Francis was not only to obtain a formal concession of the jurisdiction exercised by the monarchs of France, in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, but to transfer to the crown some of those privileges, which had been claimed and exercised by the French clergy, and to vest in the king a right to those presentations to ecclesiastical benefices, which had heretofore been claimed by the Roman see. On the other hand, Leo was not less desirous to accomplish an object which had frustrated the efforts of his predecessors, and to abolish a code of laws which had been so long regarded as the opprobrium of the church; and although the pretensions of the king went beyond the claims of the pragmatick sanction,

[f] In the rebellious efforts of Louis XI. to seize upon the crown of France during the life of his father, he had assured Pius II. that when he had obtained possession of the kingdom, he would abolish the pragmatick sanction. When that event occurred, the pope did not forget to remind him of his promise, in consequence of which that crafty prince issued a decree for its abrogation, which he sent to the parliament of Paris for its approbation; but at the same time he secretly directed his attorney general to oppose it, and prevent its being registered, which that officer accordingly did; and the legate, whom the pope had despatched to France on this subject, returned without having effected the object of his mission. *S. S. Concilia, Labbei et Cossartii, tom.* xii. *fl.* 1432.

tion, yet, as the destruction of that system would overturn the independence of the French clergy, and as the rights of the sovereign were to be exercised under the express sanction of the holy see, and not in direct opposition to its authority, as had theretofore been done, the pontiff willingly listened to the representations made to him by the king on this head, and the discussion was soon terminated to their mutual satisfaction. It was in consequence agreed, that the pragmatick sanction should be abolished in express terms, both by the pope and the king, but that its chief provisions and immunities should be revived and extended by a contemporary act, which should invest the king with greater power in the ecclesiastical concerns of the kingdom, than he had before enjoyed. Hence arose the celebrated *Concordat*, by which the nomination to all ecclesiastical benefices, within the French dominions, was expressly granted to the king, with a reservation of the *annates* to the Roman see; besides which, the right of deciding all controversies respecting the affairs of the church, excepting in some particular instances, was conceded to the judicature of the sovereign without appeal.[s] Both the king and the pope have been accused

[s] *Hist. S. Lateran. Concil. fi.* 184. *S. S. Concilia Labbei et Cossartii, tom.* xiv. *fi.* 288. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat.* iv. *par.* i. *fi.* 226. By art. xxix. of this Concordat, the clergy are prohibited from keeping concubines, under the penalty

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accused on this occasion, of having mutually bought and sold the rights of the church, and betrayed the interests of that religion which it was their duty to have protected. That their conduct excited the warmest indignation of the French clergy, appears by the bold appeal of the university of Paris, in which the proceedings of the council of Basil, in opposition to Eugenius IV. are openly defended, the rights of the gallican church courageously asserted, and the character of Leo X. impeached with great freedom. Even the laity were jealous of the authority which the king had thus unexpectedly obtained; conceiving that by this union of the spiritual and temporal power in his own person, he would find it an easy task to eradicate the few remaining germs of liberty, which had escaped the destructive vigilance of Louis XI. and which, under the milder government of his successours, had begun to put forth no unpromising shoots.[1]

After

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ty of forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues for three months, and loss of their benefices, if they persevered. The laity are also exhorted to continence; and it is very gravely, and very truly observed—"Nimis reprehensibilis "est, qui uxorem habet, et ad aliam uxorem, seu mulie- "rem accedit; qui verò solutus est, si continere nolit, "juxta Apostoli consilium, uxorem ducat."

1 The Parisians, who hated the Concordat, attributed it to the pope, the dutchess of Angoulême, mother of Francis

After these important arrangements, the king returned from Bologna to Milan, and soon afterwards repassed the Alps, to prepare for new contests

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Francis I. and the chancellor de Prato. The following lines are said to have been affixed in different parts of the city:

Prato, Leo, Mulier, frendens Leo rodit utrumque;
Prato, Leo, Mulier, sulphuris antra petant;
Prato, Leo, consorte carent, Mulierque marito;
Conjugio hos jungas; Cerberus alter erunt.

Such was the tumult, that a leader only seemed wanting to induce the people to revolt, and the streets of Paris resounded with seditious ballads,

"Concilium Cleri fle—quicquid habes sera rifle," &c. *v. Seckendorf. Comment. de Lutheranismo. lib.* i. *p.* 32.

The Abbe Mably in his *Observations sur l' histoire de France, (v. Fabr. in not. Leon. X.* 44.) considers the authority thus obtained, as a powerful engine of oppression in the hands of the sovereign. "Ce fut pour s' attacher "plus etroitement le Clergè, que Francois fit avec Leon X. "le Concordat, et soutint avec tant d' opiniatretè un traitè "qui le rendit le distributeur des dignitès, et de la plus "grande partie des domains de l' eglise. Des biens des-"tinès au soulagement des pauvres, et à l' entretien des "ministres de la religion, devinrent le prix de la corrup-"tion, et la firent naitre. Le Roi tint, pour ainsi dire, dans "sa main tous les prelats, dont l' ambition et la cupiditè "etoient insatiables; et par leurs secours disposa de tous "les ecclesiastiques, dont le pouvoir est toujours si consi-"derable dans une nation." *et v. Thuani Histor. lib.* i. *p.* 18. *Ed. Buckley.*

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tests with which he was threatened by the emperour elect and the kings of England and of Aragon. The pope, after having, by the desire of the king, conferred on Adrian Boissi, the hat of a cardinal,

Leo returns to Florence.

quitted a place where he had been treated with disrespectful coldness, and accompanied by twelve cardinals, repaired to Florence, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of December, 1515. Being now freed for a while from the cares of state, he had here an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition in splendid representations, and acts of munificence towards his fellow citizens. The day of the nativity was celebrated in the church of *S. Maria del Fiore* with unusual exultation; and on the first of the new year, he presented to the Gonfaloniere Pietro Ridolfi, who then resigned his authority to his successour, a cap of state, and sword, which had been previously sanctioned by

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the apostolick benediction. On the same day, he also assembled in the cathedral the archdeacon and canons of Florence, and being himself seated in state, in the midst of his cardinals and prelates, he gave to the chapter, the members of which were then prostrate before him, a mitre ornamented with jewels, of the estimated value of ten thousand ducats. At the same time, as a proof of the affection which he bore to the church, of which he had himself from his infancy been a canon, he enlarged the incomes of the ecclesiasticks attached to it, and directed that the canons should rank as protonotaries

ries of the holy see, and should wear the habit of such dignity on all publick occasions. [i]

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Having thus distributed his bounty, and left to seven altars in the principal church the less expensive favour of his pontifical indulgence, Leo returned to Rome. The first object that required his attention was the state of Siena; where the inability of Borghese Petrucci, who at the age of twenty-two years had succeeded to the government, on the death of his father Pandolfo, was so apparent, as to give just cause for dissatisfaction among the inhabitants.

Raffaello Petrucci obtains the chief authority at Siena.

[i] Notwithstanding the liberality of the pontiff, the Florentines, who were affected by the general scarcity of provisions which then prevailed in most parts of Italy, were well pleased when he and his numerous attendants took their final departure. Paris de Grassis protests that he neither could nor would remain any longer in a place where the inhabitants seemed inclined to famish their Roman visiters. He therefore left the pontiff, and hastened to his brother, the cardinal Germano de Grassis, at Bologna; where he seems to have made himself amends by his good living, for the penance which he underwent at Florence. He afterwards returned to that city, to accompany the pontiff to Rome, but Leo dismissed him to attend the host, whilst he made a circuitous tour of about twelve days; and although Paris was greatly scandalized that the pontiff should travel without the host, yet he confesses that he did not remonstrate on the occasion, lest the pope should give him orders to wait for him in such a miserable place; but hastened with it as quickly as possible to Rome.

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inhabitants. This circumstance induced his cousin Raffaello Petrucci, then bishop of Grosseto, and keeper of the castle of S. Angelo, to aspire to the chief dignity, to which he was also encouraged by Leo; who in consideration of his long attachment and services, and with the view of placing in so important a station, a person attached to his own interests, furnished him with two hundred lances, and two thousand infantry, under the command of Vitello Vitelli, with which the bishop proceeded towards Siena.[j] The rumours of these hostile preparations having reached the city, Borghese assembled the chief inhabitants, for the purpose of interesting them in his favour, and preparing for their defence; but the indications of displeasure and animosity which he there perceived, induced him to relinquish all hopes of maintaining his authority. He therefore privately effected his escape from the city, and fled towards Naples, accompanied by Fabio his younger brother; but leaving behind him his wife, his child, his friends, and his fortunes, to the mercy or the resentment of his adversaries.[k]

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[j] Jovius denominates him "vir stabili fide, sed ignarus "literarum et probis omnibus coopertus." *Vita Leon.* x. "*lib.* iii. *p.* 71. *et v. Fabroni, vita Leon.* x. 115. *et not.* 48.

[k] *Jovius vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iii. *p.* 71. *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 114.

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The satisfaction which the pontiff had experienced in the success of his measures was, however, speedily interrupted by domestick calamities and personal dangers. In the month of March, 1516, he received information of the death of his brother Giuliano, which happened at Florence, on the seventeenth day of that month, after having supported his indisposition with great patience and resignation. His death was a subject of real regret to the citizens of Florence, who had the fullest confidence in his sincerity and good intentions, which they contrasted with the qualities of his nephew Lorenzo in a manner by no means favourable to the popularity of the latter. His obsequies were celebrated with great magnificence; but the noble monument erected to his memory by Michel-Agnolo, in the chapel of S. Lorenzo at Florence, may be considered as a far more durable monument of his fame. [1]

Death of Giuliano de' Medici.

A few

[1] To a correct and unimpeachable moral character, Giuliano united no inconsiderable portion of literary talent, as appears from his writings, in which he followed, though not with equal vigour, the steps of his father. He is, however, enumerated by Crescimbeni among those writers who were superiour to the corrupt taste of the age, "Dimostrò "egli questo suo bel genio particolarmente nella volgar "poesia, nella quale seguitando le paterne vestigia, ancor- "chè non giugnesse all' excellenza del comporre del Padre, "nondimeno sì giudiziosamente adoperò, che non si fece "guadagnare dal corrottissimo gusto del secolo." *Comment.*

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A few days after he had received intelligence of this event, Leo retired to Civita Lavinia, a town of great antiquity, situate between Ostia and Antium, at the distance of about three miles from the sea. At this juncture a horde of barbarian corsairs suddenly disembarked from their vessel, and after committing great depredations on the coast, captured a considerable number of persons, whom they carried off with them as prisoners. It was supposed to have been their intention to have seized upon the person

Escape of the pope from the barbarian corsairs at Civita Lavinia.

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*ment. vol.* ii. *par.* ii. *lib.* vi. *f.* 338. On the death of Giuliano, his widow, Filiberta of Savoy, returned to her sister Louisa, mother of Francis I. taking with her all her jewels and bridal ornaments, to an immense value. "Nec multo "post ea (Philiberta) cum omni mundo muliebri preciosis- "simisque insignium gemmarum monilibus, in Galliam ad "Lodovicam Sororem transmissa est." *Jov. vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iii. *f.* 70. Their short union was not productive of any offspring, but Giuliano left an illegitimate son who was born at Urbino, in the year 1511, and after having been educated at the Roman court, became the celebrated cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and the munificent patron of all the learned men of his time. By the treaty between Leo X. and Francis I. Giuliano was to be honoured with a title in France, which it was understood should be that of Duke of Nemours; and although his death prevented his being formally invested with that honour, yet he is frequently mentioned by that title. On his death, Ariosto wrote an ode, not inferiour to any of the productions of his exquisite pen, in which he introduces the shade of Giuliano as apostrophizing in the most elegant and affectionate terms, his widowed bride.

person of the pope, of whose temporary residence they had probably been apprized; but Leo was aware of the danger in sufficient time to escape their pursuit, and hastened in great terrour to Rome. Muratori, who relates this incident, on the authority of a manuscript history by an anonymous writer of Padua, exclaims, "what horrours, what dreadful "consequences would have ensued, if these bar- "barians had succeeded in their project!" It would indeed have been a singular circumstance, if Leo had in one moment descended from the height of his authority, and the first station in Christendom, to the degrading condition of a slave. To form conjectures as to the probable consequences of such an event, is, however, as useless as it is difficult; but we may with certainty decide, that however humiliating such a circumstance would have been to the christian world, it would not have shaken the belief of the faithful, either in the sacred character of the pontiff, or the infallibility of the holy see.

## CHAP. XIV.

### 1516—1517.

PROPOSED alliance of England Spain and Austria—Death of Ferdinand of Spain—His character—Francis I. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples—The emperour elect Maximilian enters Italy in great force—His ineffectual attempt against Milan—Francis I. suspects the pope of having favoured the enterprise—Leo intends to aggrandize his nephew Lorenzo—Excommunicates the duke of Urbino and expels him from his dominions—Confers the title and authority on Lorenzo—The Venetians recover the city of Brescia—Verona successfully defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna—Negotiations for the general pacification of Europe—Treaty of Noyon—Leo endeavours to counteract its effects—Treaty of London—Motives of the pope for opposing the pacification—The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions—Leo requires the aid of all Christendom against him—The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat—War of Urbino—The duke resigns his dominions—Conspiracy of Petrucci and other cardinals against the pope—Conspirators discovered—Arrest of the cardinal Riario—Several other cardinals confess their guilt—Execution of Petrucci and his subordinate accomplices

plices—Conduct of Leo towards the other Conspirators—Observations on this event—Leo creates in one day thirty-one cardinals—Splendour of the Roman See—Leo promotes the happiness of his subjects.

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AFTER twenty years of warfare and desolation, Italy began at length to experience some respite from her calamities. The contest was not indeed wholly terminated; but it was chiefly restricted to the Venetian territories, where the senate were struggling to recover from the emperour the important cities of Brescia and Verona, which, by the aid of their successful allies the French, they now expected speedily to accomplish. The conquest of Milan, and the progress of the French arms, were not, however regarded with indifference by Ferdinand of Aragon, who was well apprized of the warlike disposition, and ambitious designs of Francis I. and fully aware how much the possession of the Milanese might facilitate the success of his hostile attempts against the kingdom of Naples. These apprehensions were increased by the strict alliance lately formed between Francis and Leo X. the latter of whom, if he was not become the adversary of Ferdinand, was at least, no longer his associate in the war; and his neutrality was scarcely less dangerous than his hostility. Induced by these considerations, Ferdinand determined to provide the active sovereign of France with employment in another quarter. To this end he renewed his applications to the emperour Maximilian, and

Proposed alliance of England, Spain and Austria, against France.

and to Henry VIII. to join him in a league against France. These propositions were willingly acceded to by Maximilian, who earnestly desired the assistance of the Spaniards in devesting the Venetians of their continental possessions; and were also listened to by Henry VIII. who notwithstanding his late dissatisfaction with the conduct of his father-in-law, and his treaty with Francis I. had been induced by Wolsey to look with a hostile eye on the proceedings of the French monarch. The motives of this powerful favourite, in thus inciting his sovereign to a new contest, are too obvious to be mistaken. By the aid of Francis I. he had lately obtained the hat of a cardinal; and he well knew that the expected compensation for this favour, was his relinquishing the revenues arising from his bishoprick of Tournay, which, in case of hostilities between the two countries, he could still retain. He was therefore indefatigable in forwarding the negotiations with the emperour. [a] The Spanish ambassadour

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[a] This treaty, the professed object of which was, to raise Francesco Sforza to the government of Milan, which had been relinquished by his brother Maximilian, occasioned great debates in the English councils, which are fully stated by Lord Herbert. "Leo had a hand herein," says that historian, "as knowing how much safer it was for "Italy, that a single duke should govern Milan, than such a potent prince as Francis I." At this time the emperour amused Henry VIII. with promises of granting to him the dutchy of Milan, and resigning to him the empire, by which means

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Death of Ferdinand of Spain.

His character.

The reign of Ferdinand may be considered as having laid the foundation of the power of the Spanish monarchy; and he may justly be regarded, if not as one of the greatest, as one of the most fortunate sovereigns on historical record. His marriage with Isabella eventually united the people of Castile and of Aragon under one sovereign, and

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means he extracted from him considerable sums of money. *v. Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p.* 51, *&c.* From a document preserved in Rymer's Fœdera, it also appears, that Francesco Sforza had promised to pay Wolsey a pension of ten thousand ducats from the time of his obtaining possession of his dominions. *Rapin's Hist. of Eng. book* xv. *v.* i. *p.* 732.

[b] Guicciardini places this event in January. "Nel "mese di Gennajo." Robertson, more particularly, on the twenty third day of January. *Life of Cha. V. book* iii. *p.* 21. Muratori, who is in general accurate in his dates, on the fifteenth of January, 1516. *Annali* x. 122.

and formed them into one powerful nation. To the encouragement afforded by Ferdinand and his queen to Columbus, may be attributed the discovery of the great continent of America; undoubtedly one of the most important events in the history of mankind. The expulsion of the Moors from his dominions, is another incident which adds lustre to his reign. By the valour and conduct of his great general Gonsalvo, he had obtained the peaceful sovereignty of the kingdom of Naples, and thereby restored to the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon, their long asserted rights. The acquisition of Navarre, and the conquest of several important places on the shores of Africa were also highly honourable to the Spanish arms. These uncommon successes, together with the reputation which Ferdinand had acquired for moderation, prudence, and piety, gave him an extensive influence among the crowned heads of Europe; but, notwithstanding these splendid achievements, Ferdinand was himself no hero. Whilst Louis XII. and Francis I. and even the emperour elect Maximilian, took the field, he was, for the most part, satisfied with acquiring by proxy what they lost in person. Those talents which were dignified by the name of wisdom and prudence, would have been better characterized by the appellations of craft, of avarice, and of fraud. His treacherous conduct towards his near relation, Ferdinand king of Naples, and the young prince of Calabria, his son, leaves a stain on his character which cannot

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milian, who seemed at length to have roused himself from his lethargy, and to have formed the resolution of repairing by his own efforts the disasters of his allies. By the seasonable aid of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, which had been sent to him from Spain, shortly before the death of Ferdinand, he was enabled to subsidize a body of fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, to which he had united at least an equal number of troops collected from various parts of the Austrian dominions. His preparations were hastened by the critical situation of the cities of Brescia and Verona; in consequence of a body of three thousand men, sent as an escort with supplies for the relief of those garrisons, having been intercepted by the Sieur de Lautrec, the commander of the French troops in the Venetian service, and defeated with great slaughter.[e] With a promptitude which astonished all Europe, Maximilian took the field in person early in the year, and passing through the Tyrol, arrived at Verona. The united arms of the French and Venetians were unable to oppose the progress of his army;[f] and Lautrec, after having threatened in vain that he would arrest his

[e] *Ligue de Cambr. lib.* v. ii. 539.

[f] "Fu creduto," says Muratori, "che quell' esercito "ascendesse a sei mila Cavalli, e a venticinque migliaja di "Fanti." *Annali d'Ital.* x. 124.

his course, was obliged to relinquish successively the passes of the Mincio, the Oglio, and the Adda, and eventually to take shelter within the walls of Milan.[g] CHAP. XIV. 1516. Æt. 41.

His ineffectual attempt against Milan.

This sudden and unexpected alteration in the aspect of publick affairs, once more awakened in the mind of Leo X. the hopes of a speedy expulsion of the French from Italy; and notwithstanding his alliance with Francis I. he immediately despatched the cardinal da Bibbiena, as his legate to the emperour; at the same time directing his general Marc-Antonio Colonna, then at the head of a small body of Roman troops, to join the imperial army.[h] The government of Milan had been intrusted by Francis I. to Charles duke of Bourbon, who avowed his resolution of defending the city to the last extremity. With the most vigilant attention he suppressed the symptoms of tumult among the inhabitants; he imprisoned such of them as he suspected of disaffection to his cause; he even set fire to the suburbs of the city, to the great dissatisfaction and injury of the inhabitants, who attributed this measure to the advice of the Venetian *Provveditore*, and the effects of national jealousy; and finally he omitted no measures that were

[g] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 113.

[h] *Ligue de Cambr. lib.* v. ii. 543.

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were likely to harass the emperour, in providing supplies for his numerous troops. The imperial army had now arrived in the vicinity of the city, and was increased by a considerable party of the Milanese exiles. Colonna had possessed himself of Lodi; where contrary to his intentions, and notwithstanding his precautions, a great number of the French and their adherents were put to the sword; but whilst Maximilian was preparing for the attack of Milan, the arrival at that city of a body of ten thousand Swiss, whom Francis had, in consequence of a recent treaty with the Helvetick states,[1] engaged in his interests, suddenly arrested the prosperous career of the imperial arms, and induced Maximilian to hesitate as to his further proceedings. The mercenary character of the Swiss, if not already sufficiently notorious, was now manifested, by their being engaged in nearly equal numbers on opposite sides of the question. The emperour, at this critical juncture, could not avoid calling to mind the fate of Lodovico Sforza, who, under similar circumstances, had been betrayed by the Swiss, and delivered up to Louis XII.

[1] By this treaty, which was effected on the seventh day of November, 1515, Francis agreed to advance to the Swiss four hundred thousand crowns in lieu of the terms stipulated by the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand more for the expenses which they had incurred in Italy. *Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. v.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 218.

XII. A letter written by Triwulzio, to the commander of the Helvetick troops in the imperial service, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and referring to the speedy execution of some preconcerted plan, confirmed the suspicions of the emperour. No manifestations of a favourable disposition were shown by the inhabitants of Milan; the circumstances in which the emperour was placed, would not admit of long hesitation, and his only choice was either to attack the united forces of the French, the Venetians, and the Swiss, in the fortifications of Milan, or to consult his safety by a timely retreat. In adopting the latter alternative, Maximilian only acted that part, which, from his former conduct, might safely have been predicted. Disgraced, although not defeated, he withdrew to Lodi, incumbered with an immense army of different nations, which he was unable either to feed, or to pay.[j] After having been reduced to the necessity of plundering those cities, which, as their sovereign, he ought to have protected, he hastened with all possible expedition to Trent; whilst the Swiss in his service, being obliged on their way to levy contributions on the inhabitants, returned through the Valteline to their mountains. Thus ended the expedition of the emperour Maximilian against Milan; a memorable instance of that imbecility which frustrates all expectation,

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[j] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 115.

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expectation, and sets at defiance every effort of good fortune, to crown it with either honour or success.

Francis I. suspects the pope of having favoured the enterprise.

The conduct of Leo, through these transactions, was viewed with a jealous eye by Francis I. who began to entertain suspicions that he had incited Maximilian to this enterprise. These suspicions were greatly strengthened by the hesitation which Leo had shown, in complying with the terms of the treaty concluded between them; by which it had been agreed, that in case of an attack on the states of Milan, he should provide for its defence five hundred men at arms, and should subsidize and maintain for the same purpose a body of three thousand Swiss mercenaries. When, however, the king required the stipulated aid, Leo had excused himself on account of his inability; but had promised to send to the assistance of the king a body of Florentine troops, which had at length taken the field, and proceeded by slow marches to Bologna, without having effected the the slightest service to the cause of the French. As the fortunes of the emperour declined, the pontiff manifested a more decided adherence to his former engagements. The cardinal da Bibbiena had indeed departed on his embassy, but he had stopped at Rubiera, under pretext of sickness; and Leo, with great apparent punctuality, directed his nephew Lorenzo to advance the first month's pay for three thousand Swiss. Francis, on condescending

scending to receive the money, coldly observed, that as his treaty with the pope was of no service to him in the moment of war and danger, he would negotiate a new one with him, which should only relate to times of peace.[k]



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Leo forms designs for the aggrandizement of his nephew Lorenzo.

For a long course of years prior to the time of Leo X. the principal object of those who had filled the chair of St. Peter, had been the aggrandizement, or rather the founding of a family which should hold a respectable rank among the princes of Italy. Of this common character of the Roman pontiffs, Leo strongly participated. The person on whom he had placed his fondest hopes, was his brother Giuliano; but the pacifick and unambitious temper of this estimable young man, had prevented those exertions which the pope was inclined to make in his favour; and an untimely death had blighted the expectations which had been entertained of him. After this event, the favour of the pope was principally turned towards his nephew Lorenzo, who felt no scruples in availing himself of any advantages, which, through his near kindred to the pontiff, he might be likely to obtain. So evidently did the death of Giuliano contribute to the advancement of Lorenzo, that the nephew has been accused of having treacherously accelerated

[k] *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib.* xii. ii. 116.

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ted the death of the uncle, in order to prepare the way to his own promotion; but accusations of this nature, which rest merely on presumption, deserve no credit; and miserable indeed would be the lot of humanity, if such motives could countervail that love of kindred which is one of the strongest safeguards of society.

Excommunicates the duke of Urbino, and expels him from his dominions.

The temporary cessation of hostilities, occasioned by the retreat of the imperial troops, afforded the pope a favourable opportunity of attempting to carry into effect his long meditated design against the dutchy of Urbino, and of raising his family to a sovereign rank. It is probable, however, that in this design, Leo was actuated not only by motives of ambition, but by his resentment against the duke, who had on several occasions manifested a disposition hostile to his views, and particularly at the time of the restoration of the Medici to Florence, when he had refused to afford them his assistance as general of the church; although he had been directed by his uncle, Julius II. to grant them all the support in his power. These private reasons of dislike were, however, cautiously suppressed, and, motives of a more publick nature were alleged by the pontiff, in justification of the violent measures which he had in contemplation. Among these, Leo did not forget to enumerate the assassination of the cardinal of Pavia, in the streets of Ravenna, perpetrated by the duke with his own hand, in a season of tranquillity and confidence; the

the animosity shown by the duke against the papal troops, as well on other occasions, as after the battle of Ravenna, when he expelled the unfortunate fugitives, who had escaped that dreadful day from his dominions; his treacherous negotiations with foreign powers, and his contumacy as a vassal of the holy see, in refusing those supplies which it was his duty, and which he had positively stipulated to provide. For these ostensible reasons Leo issued a monitory to the duke, of which he was no sooner apprized, than he quitted his capital and retired to Pesaro. Here he endeavoured by all the means in his power to appease the resentment of the pontiff; for which purpose he despatched to Rome the dutchess Elizabetta, the widow of his predecessor, by whose intercessions he hoped to avert the danger with which he was threatened. The reception of the dutchess was not, however, such as from her rank, her accomplishments, and the services rendered by her husband and herself to the family of the Medici, she was entitled to expect. In two audiences, obtained not without difficulty, she remonstrated with the pontiff on the severity of his conduct towards the representative of a family, which had so long been connected by the ties of friendship with his own, and which had manifested the sincerity of its attachment by the protection afforded to the Medici in the midst of their calamities, and when they had no other refuge. She reminded the pope of the intimacy which had so long subsisted between the duke and his late brother

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brother Giuliano, who had always avowed the warmest attachment towards the family of his protectors; and she declared that it would be an instance of ingratitude, which she could not believe would be countenanced by so generous and magnanimous a prince as his holiness was universally esteemed to be, if his nephew Lorenzo, who, when an infant, had so often been caressed in her arms, should now rise up against his benefactors, and expel them from the very place which had been the scene of their kindness to him.[1] These supplications had, however, little effect on the determination of the pontiff; who informed the dutchess in reply, that he expected the duke to make his appearance at Rome, according to the tenour of the monitory; the term of which being now nearly expired, he should, from his personal respect to her, enlarge for a few days.[m] Instead, however, of proceeding to Rome, the duke retired from Pesaro to the court of his father-in-law, Francesco-Gonzago, at Mantua, whither he had already taken the precaution of sending his wife and family, having first garrisoned the citadel of Pesaro with three thousand men, the command of whom

[1] *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino lib.* ii. *fo.* 171, *et seq.*

[m] *Ibid. lib.* ii. *fo.* 174.

whom he intrusted to Tranquillo da Mondolfo, an officer in whom he placed great confidence. Availing himself of the disobedience of the duke to the paramount authority of the holy see, Leo issued a decree of excommunication, by which the duke was declared a rebel, and deprived of his titles and offices, and all the cities in the state of Urbino were placed under an interdict, as long as they avowed their allegiance to him. The princes of Christendom were admonished not to afford him any assistance, and even the dutchess Elizabetta was deprived of her dowry arising from the territories of her late husband.[n] At the same time Lorenzo de' Medici, as general of the church, accompanied by the experienced commander Renzo da Ceri, entered the dutchy of Urbino by way of Romagna, at the head of one thousand men at arms, one thousand light horse, and twelve thousand infantry. Vitello Vitelli, with upwards of two thousand men, attacked the dominions of the duke on the side of Lamole, and Giovan-Paolo Baglione, attended by an apostolick commissary, proceeded towards the city of Urbino, by way of Gubbio.[o] Such an attack was irresistible; and the duke himself, being apprized of the forces brought against him, conceded to his subjects in express terms, the liberty of entering

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[n] *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca. d' Urbino. lib.* ii. *p.* 180.

[o] *Ibid. lib.* ii. *p.* 180.

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entering into such stipulations with the conquerors as they might think conducive to their own safety.[p] The city of Urbino immediately surrendered to the pontifical arms, and this example was followed by all its dependant cities and places, except the citadel of Pesaro, and the fortresses of Sinigaglia, San Leo, and Majuolo. After sustaining a cannonade of two days, Mondolfo, to whom the defence of the citadel of Pesaro had been intrusted, agreed to surrender the place, if effectual assistance did not arrive within twenty days; but when the time had expired, Mondolfo, instead of complying with the terms of the treaty, again attacked the besiegers with his artillery. The straits to which the garrison was reduced, soon, however, gave rise to mutiny and disorder; and the soldiers, seizing upon their leader, delivered him up as the price of their own security, to the commanders of the papal troops, who executed him on the gallows as a traitor.[q] The fortresses of Majuolo and Sinigaglia, were immediately surrendered; but that of S. Leo, being well garrisoned, and situated on a precipitous rock, was deemed impregnable. After

[p] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 117.

[q] *Guicciard. Storia d'Italia lib.* xii. ii. 118. But Leoni asserts, that Mondolfo was executed contrary to his capitulation with Lorenzo. *Vita di Fran. Maria duca d' Urbino. lib.* ii. *fl.* 189.

ter a siege of three months, its conquest was, however, accomplished by the contrivance and exertions of a master carpenter, who, having ascended by night the steepest part of the rock, and concealed himself by day under its projections and cavities, enabled the besieged to fix their ladders, by means of which one hundred and fifty chosen men arrived early in the morning at the summit; a part of whom carrying six standards, having scaled the walls, the garrison, conceiving the place was stormed, abandoned its defence, and the gates were opened to the besiegers.[s]

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The conquest of the whole state being thus accomplished, Leo invested his nephew Lorenzo with the dutchy of Urbino, and its dependant states of Pesaro and Sinigaglia; and in order to give greater validity to the act of investiture, he caused it to be authenticated by the individual signatures of all the cardinals, excepting only Domenico Grimani, bishop of Urbino, who refused to concur in despoiling the duke of his dominions. Fearful, however, of having incurred the indignation of the pope, Grimani, a few days afterwards, prudently withdrew from Rome, and did not return until after the death of the pontiff.[t]

Lorenzo assumes the title of duke of Urbino.

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[s] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *fo.* 118.

[t] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. *v.* ii. *fo.* 118.

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The exiled duke, thus deprived of his dominions, requested the pontiff that he would at least liberate him from his ecclesiastical censures; but Leo refused him even this consolation, although the duke entreated it, "for the salvation of his "soul." Thus the man who appears to have felt no remorse for the assassination of another, and that too a cardinal of the church, professed his anxiety in labouring under the displeasure of the pope; and thus the pontiff, to whom the care of all Christendom was intrusted, after despoiling the object of his resentment of all his possessions in this world, refused to pardon him even in the next.

The pope refuses to absolve the exiled duke.

Soon after the retreat of Maximilian, and the dispersion of his immense army, the duke of Bourbon relinquished the government of Milan, and that important trust was committed to Odet de Foix, Sieur de Lautrec, who had greatly distinguished himself by his important services in Italy. The cities of Brescia and Verona yet retained their fidelity to the emperour, or rather the inhabitants were kept in subjection, by the powerful garrisons of German and Spanish troops, by which they were defended. On the disgraceful return of the emperour elect to Vienna, the Venetians resolved to attempt the recovery of these important places. They increased the number of their troops, the chief direction of which was intrusted to Andrea Gritti, who was joined under the walls of Brescia by

The Venetians recover the city of Brescia.

by Lautrec, at the head of five hundred lances and five thousand French infantry. After bombarding that city for several days with forty-eight pieces of heavy artillery, the French and Venetian generals compelled the besieged to a capitulation, by which it was agreed, that if effectual assistance did not arrive within eight days, they should surrender the place. The vigilance of the besiegers having prevented the approach of the expected succours, this city, on the day appointed, once more passed under the dominion of the Venetians, to the great joy of the major part of its inhabitants.

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Verona successfully defended by M. A. Colonna.

The attack of the united armies upon the city of Verona was not attended with equal success. Their forces were now indeed increased to twelve hundred men at arms, two thousand light horse, and twelve thousand foot. But the place was defended by Marc-Antonio Colonna, who, with the consent of the pope, had quitted his service for that of the emperour elect, and had garrisoned the place with a force little inferiour to that of his enemies. So numerous a body within the walls, whilst it discouraged the besiegers from an immediate attack, suggested to them the expedient of reducing the place by famine. They therefore took their position before the city, the inhabitants of which endured with exemplary patience all the extremes of hunger, of oppression, and of misery. The besiegers, however, soon began to find that the

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the inconveniences which they themselves experienced from the want of supplies, were scarcely inferiour to those of the besieged. After having been obliged to plunder and desolate, for their support, the surrounding country, they resolved at the expiration of two months, to attempt to storm the city. The artillery was therefore employed with unceasing activity; the walls were frequently destroyed, so as to admit of an assault; the French and the Venetian troops emulated each other in the courage which they displayed on this occasion; but the firmness and perseverance of Colonna resisted the shock. With incredible assiduity, he repaired the breaches in the fortifications; he repulsed the besiegers in many severe engagements, and frequently, instead of waiting the approach of his enemies, led out his troops, and attacked them in their intrenchments. From the month of August to that of October, the fate of the city remained in suspense; when information being received that a strong reenforcement was on its march, from Trent, to the assistance of Colonna,[n] the besiegers suddenly broke up their camp, and retiring in separate bodies, relinquished their undertaking.

During

[n] It was also rumoured, that fifteen thousand Swiss, in the pay of the king of England, were expected at Milan. *Murat. Annal.* x. 127.

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Negotiations for the pacification of Europe.

During these occurrences in Italy, negotiations had been carrying on among the European states, which, in the event, not only appeased these contests, but laid the foundation of that general tranquillity which soon afterwards ensued. The suspicions entertained by Francis I. of the dispositions of Leo X. had received confirmation from many concurring circumstances; nor can it be doubted, that in his aversion to the establishment of a French government in Italy, Leo was uniform and unalterable. This aversion had been increased by the conduct of the French monarch, who by depriving the pope of the sovereignty of Parma and Piacenza, had done him an injury, which, from motives of good policy, he ought to have avoided; and for which, all his other concessions were not considered by Leo as an equivalent. The papal troops, which since the departure of Marc-Antonio Colonna, had been intrusted to the command of his near relations, Prospero and Mutio Colonna, yet remained in the vicinity of the Milanese; whence, in order to prevent suspicion, they at length retreated to Modena. Here an interview took place between those commanders and Girolamo Morone, which was conjectured to be for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries for an attack upon some part of the state of Milan. At the same time, Leo had sent as his legate to the Swiss cantons, Ennio, bishop of Veruli, for the purpose, as Francis rightly conjectured, of inducing them to engage their services to his enemies.

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mies.[v] Under these impressions, the king manifested some hesitation in permitting the pope to receive the emoluments arising from the tenths of the benefices in France, as agreed on by the concordat; but afterwards, either suppressing his displeasure, or being yet desirous of obtaining the favour of the pontiff, he not only assented to this claim, but endeavoured to secure his friendship by other acts of kindness. He relinquished his claims to a revenue from the states of Mirandola, Carpi, and Correggio, as lord paramount of those places, on being informed that the pope had received them under his protection. He also affected to enter into the views of the pope, with respect to his favourite object of an attack upon the infidels, and offered to equip a powerful armament at Marseilles, under the command of Pietro Navarro,[w] for the purpose of attacking the states of Barbary, whose corsairs infested the Mediterranean, and who had probably increased the pious hatred of the pontiff, by their sacrilegious attack upon his person. Well aware, however, that all attempts to reconcile the pontiff to the permanent establishment of the French in Italy, might prove fruitless, he turned his views towards another quarter, and determined to secure his Milanese possessions by accommodating

[v] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 119.

[w] *Guicciard. lib.* xii. ii. 119.

commodating his differences with the young king of Spain. The advantages to be derived to both parties from such a treaty were obvious. The accession of Charles to the dominions of his ancestors, was not unattended by difficulties, and in particular, his Neapolitan dominions were yet subject to the rival claims of the house of Anjou, and of the illegitimate branch of the house of Aragon. The basis of this negotiation was, therefore, the quieting and defending each other in the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. On the thirteenth day of August, 1516, it was solemnly agreed at Noyon, [z] that the treaty of amity concluded between the two monarchs, at Paris, in the year 1514, should be renewed and confirmed, and that they should assist each other, as well in the defence of their respective territories, on both sides the Alps, as in any just conquest which either of them might undertake. In order to confirm this connexion, it was further concluded, that Francis should give his daughter Louisa, then only one year of age, in marriage to Charles at a stipulated period, and that on such marriage, Charles should be invested with all the rights and pretensions of the family of Anjou to the crown of Naples. By the same treaty, the rights of the family of D'Albret to the kingdom of Navarre, and the discordant interests

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Treaty of Noyon.

[z] *Du Mont. Corps Diplomat. vol.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 234.

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rests of the Venetians, and the emperour elect, were particularly attended to, and arranged; and a power was reserved for Maximilian to accede to the league, at any time within the space of two months. The pope was particularly named as the ally of both parties; but this was well understood to be merely in respect of his dignity, and not under any expectation that he was likely to assent to the treaty.

Leo endeavours to counteract its effects.

No sooner was Leo apprized of these negotiations, than he employed all his art and all his influence to prevent the Spanish monarch from acceding to the terms proposed to him; but finding that his interference for this purpose was not likely to prove effectual, he resolved to counteract, if possible, the effects of this treaty, by another alliance equally formidable. To this end he prevailed on the king of England, and the emperour elect, to unite with him in a league, to which he had also the address to prevail upon the Spanish monarch to accede. But although Leo had been the original promoter of this measure, he declined being nominated as an ostensible party, and requested that power might be reserved to him to join in it at a future time. By this treaty, which was concluded at London on the twenty-ninth day of October, 1516,[y] the emperour elect, and the kings

[y] This treaty is given by Lünig, *Codex Ital. Diplomat. vol.* i. *p.* 149. *Rymer. Fœdera, vol.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 121. *Dumont,*

kings of England and of Spain, agreed to defend each other against any power that should attack their respective states; and the contingency of each party was settled at five thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. It was further stipulated that all potentates, and states, that might be desirous of entering into the league, should be admitted; and, as the confederates acknowledged they had reason to expect the pope would become a party, they declared him principal and chief of the league. Such were the avowed and ostensible objects of this alliance; but by a separate article,[z] it was further agreed, that endeavours should be used for disengaging such of the Swiss cantons as were in alliance with France, from the interests of that crown; and it was also settled, what amount each of the allies should pay towards the pensions which should be distributed among the Swiss, as well to the publick, as to private persons.[a] The consequences

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*mont, Corps Diplomat. tom.* iv. *par.* i. *p.* 240. also, *v. Supplem. au Corps Diplomat. tom.* iii. *par.* i. *p.* 40, where this treaty is more correctly given, from an ancient copy, apparently written at the time of its conclusion.

[z] *Supplem. au Corps Diplomat. tom.* iii. *par.* i. *p.* 47.

[a] The proportions of the kings of England and Spain were fixed at fifteen thousand gold florins each, and Maximilian was to discharge the stipulations already entered into by him with the Swiss in this respect. *Suppl. au Corps Diplomat. ut sup.*

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consequences which Leo expected from this formidable combination were, however, frustrated by the instability, or duplicity, of the emperour elect; who, at the same instant that he was negotiating the treaty of London, availed himself of the opportunity afforded him of becoming a party to that of Noyon, which was intended as a definitive arrangement of the affairs of Italy. In consequence of this treaty the city of Verona was again surrendered to the Venetians. A further agreement was soon afterwards concluded, between the Venetian senate and the emperour elect, which terminated, for a time, the other objects of their dispute. On the twenty-ninth day of November, in the same year, Francis I. concluded the memorable treaty of Fribourg with the Swiss cantons, known by the name of the perpetual alliance, which has been the foundation of the close connexion that has since subsisted between the two countries.[b] By these alliances the peace of Europe was guarantied by its most powerful sovereigns; and Leo was compelled to be a reluctant spectator of that tranquillity, which he had certainly, on this occasion, done all in his power to prevent.

It would, however, be unjust to the character of the pontiff, to conclude that he was averse to the

[b] *Murat. Annali d' Ital.* x. 130. *Ligue de Cambr. liv.* v. ii. 561.

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the repose of Italy. On the contrary, there was, perhaps, no object that he had more at heart; but this repose he conceived to be ill secured, whilst the northern and southern states of that country were held by two powerful foreign potentates, whose dissensions, or whose closer alliance, might equally prove fatal to the rest. This, therefore, was not such a peace as Leo wished to see effected; and if he did not manifest his open disapprobation, it was only because he was, for the present, precluded from all means of interrupting it, with any hopes of success. Nor can it be denied, that in this respect, he manifested a regard for the true interests of his country, and a degree of political sagacity, which does credit to his discernment; subsequent events having sufficiently demonstrated, that the apprehensions of the pontiff for the safety and repose of Italy were too well founded; that country having, soon after his death, exhibited scenes of contention and of carnage, between the rival monarchs of France and of Spain, yet more horrible than any that had before occurred; and the city of Rome itself having become the prey of a horde of Christian barbarians, who sacked it with circumstances of ferocious cruelty scarcely to be paralleled in the history of mankind. [c]

Motives of the pope for opposing the general pacification.

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[c] A succinct account of these shocking transactions may be found in Robertson's History of Charles V. *book* iv. *vol.* ii. *p.* 286.

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The exiled duke of Urbino recovers his dominions.

One of the immediate consequences of the general pacification was the disbanding of a great number of the Italian *Condottieri;* who, being now out of employment, were ready to engage in any enterprise which might afford them emolument or support. Availing himself of this circumstance, and of the pecuniary aid of his father-in-law, the marquis of Mantua, the exiled duke of Urbino had begun to collect a military force for 1517. the purpose of attempting the recovery of his dominions.[d] In the month of January, 1517, he assembled his troops, which then amounted to five thousand Spanish infantry, most of whom had been employed in the defence of Verona, three thousand Italian stipendiaries, and fifteen hundred horse commanded by Federigo Gonzago, lord of Bozzolo, who avowed a mortal enmity to Lorenzo de' Medici, on account of a personal affront which he had received from him. With this army the exiled duke began his march; having, as a justification of his conduct, addressed a letter to the college of cardinals, in which he declares himself a faithful and obedient son of the church; complains of the unexampled severity with which he had been treated; asserts that he had not only been pursued with all the violence of ecclesiastical censures, but that his life had been frequently attempted, both by

[d] *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* x. 131. *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino, lib.* ii. *p.* 198.

by poison and by force; and disavows any intention of disturbing the states of the church, further than might be necessary to the recovery of his just rights.[e] He then took the route of Romagna, and arriving at Cesena, passed the river Savio, under the walls of that place, without interruption from Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then with a considerable force within the city. The rapidity of his movements anticipated the vigilance of the papal commanders. A few fortresses of little importance, which had opposed his progress, were stormed, and the garrisons treated with great severity. Arriving in his own dominions, he found his capital defended only by a small body of troops, which was instantly put to flight, and in the space of a few weeks, the duke, without a single engagement of any importance, found himself as suddenly restored to his authority as he had been, a short time before, deprived of it.



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Leo requires the aid of all Christendom against him.

This unexpected reverse of fortune, was a cause of inexpressible chagrin to the pope, not only on account of the loss of a territory, which he had considered as effectually secured to his family, but as it indicated a hostile disposition on the part of those sovereigns, whose commanders and troops had

[e] This letter, which is well written, and may be considered as the manifesto of the duke, has been preserved by Leoni.

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[f] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. *v.* ii. *fi.* 127, 130.

[g] On this occasion Leo wrote in a particular manner to Henry VIII. representing the church as in a situation of great difficulty and danger, and entreating his immediate and effectual assistance See Note A. at the end of the volume.

whose conduct had on several occasions undoubtedly given just cause for reprehension. The Spanish king not only exculpated himself from all share in the transaction, but immediately admonished his subjects to quit the service of the duke of Urbino. He also directed the count of Potenza to proceed from Naples, with four hundred lances, to the aid of the pope, and as a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he deprived the duke of Urbino of the ducal territory of Sora, which had been purchased by his father, within the kingdom of Naples. Francis I. although justly suspicious of the intentions of the pontiff, sent also to his assistance a body of three hundred lances; but this reenforcement was accompanied by many complaints, of the non-observance by the pope of the treaty concluded between him and the king at Bologna. This unjustifiable severity exercised by Leo against the exiled duke of Urbino, and particularly his cruelty in depriving both the dowager dutchess, and the wife of the reigning duke, of the revenues appointed for their support, had also been warmly animadverted on by the dutchess of Angoulême, mother of the French monarch, who possessed great influence with her son, and resented with commendable spirit the injury done to those of her own sex. Leo, being privately informed of this circumstance, and conscious that he had given just occasion for complaint, hesitated whether it would be prudent to accept the assistance offered to him by the king. These difficulties were not, however,

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however, of long continuance. In complying with the request of the pope, by giving to his cause the credit of his name, and the assistance of his arms, Francis proposed that a new confederation should be entered into between them, by which they should reciprocally bind themselves to the defence of each others dominions, and to the advance, for that purpose, if it should appear necessary, of a monthly sum of twelve thousand ducats. The Florentines were also included as auxiliaries in the league, and Lorenzo de' Medici was expressly recognised as duke of Urbino.[h] The king further consented to assist the pope, whenever he was required, against the vassals and feudatories of the church; but the pontiff engaged by a separate brief, not to require the aid of the French monarch against the duke of Ferrara. On this occasion, Francis again insisted with great earnestness on the restitution of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but the pope sought to evade the discussion, under the pretext that it was not a proper time to make such a request, when he was engaged in a dangerous contest with another of the vassals of

[h] This treaty does not appear either in the *Codex Italiæ Diplomaticus* of Lünig, or in the collections of Du Mont, yet, as it is stated in express terms by Guicciardini, *lib.* xiii. *vol.* ii. *p.* 132, and is recognised by the accurate Muratori, *Annali d' Ital.* x. 132, there can be no doubt that it was concluded.

of the church. Such, however, was the perseverance of the king, that Leo at length consented, by a written engagement, to restore those places to the duke at the expiration of the term of seven months; a promise, which there is too much reason to believe, he never intended to perform, although conceded to the importunity of the king; relying on the change of circumstances which might arise within that period, for a sufficient reason to justify him in the breach of it.[i]

The duke of Urbino challenges his rival Lorenzo to single combat.

During this negotiation, Leo had used his utmost efforts to increase the forces under the command of his nephew Lorenzo; which soon amounted to one thousand men at arms, fifteen hundred light-horse, and eighteen thousand infantry, composed of a heterogeneous assemblage of Gascons, Germans, Swiss, Spaniards, and Italians,[j] the immediate command of which, under the direction of Lorenzo, was intrusted to Renzo da Ceri. Of this force a considerable part was concentrated at Pesaro; but at the time when hostilities

[i] On this subject, Muratori bluntly observes, "l'osservare la parola non fu mai contato fra le virtù di questo "pontefice." *Annali d' Italia* x. 132.

[j] *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino, lib.* ii. Guicciardini states the amount at one thousand men at arms, one thousand light horse, and fifteen thousand infantry. *Storia d' Ital. lib.* xiii. ii. 133.

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tilities were expected to commence, a herald arrived at Pesaro, to demand a safe conduct for two persons who were authorized by the duke of Urbino to impart a message to Lorenzo de' Medici. The necessary credentials were accordingly given, when Suares di Lione, a Spanish officer, and Oratio Florida, secretary to the duke, were introduced in a publick audience; but instead of announcing any proposition of submission or accommodation, as was probably expected from them, the secretary read aloud a challenge from the duke, addressed to Lorenzo; by which he proposed, that in order to prevent the effusion of blood, and the calamities of a protracted warfare, the contending parties should terminate the contest by an equal number of soldiers on each side, such number to be at the choice of Lorenzo, from four, to four thousand; concluding with an offer to Lorenzo, in case he preferred it, to meet him at a time and place to be appointed for that purpose, and to decide their differences by single combat.[k]

The only reply which Lorenzo made to this message, which he affected to consider as a personal affront, was to commit the bearers of it to prison.

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[k] This singular document is preserved by Leoni, in his life of Fr. Maria duke of Urbino.

prison.[1] In a few days, however, he liberated the Spaniard; but he sent the secretary of the duke to Rome, for the purpose of being examined respecting the measures and intentions of his master, and particularly as to the persons who had stimulated and abetted him in the prosecution of the war. To the indelible reproach of the pope and his advisers, the use of torture was resorted to, for the purpose of obtaining information from a person who had relied on the express sanction of a safe conduct; but the result of this atrocious act is said to have served only to confirm the pope, in the suspicions which he already entertained of the hostile disposition of the French monarch.[m]

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[1] Ammirato informs us, that Lorenzo offered to accept the challenge, and meet the duke in single combat, provided he would first restore matters to their former footing. "—egli non ricusò l'offerta fattagli da Francesco Maria, "di combatter seco à corpo à corpo per terminar la diffe- "renza dello stato, quando però Francesco Maria si fosse "contentato di lasciar star le cose nel modo in che prima "erano." *Ammir. Ritratti d' Uomini illustri di Casa Medici, in Opusc.* iii. 105. If by this proposal it was meant that the duke should relinquish to Lorenzo the sovereignty of Urbino, before the combat took place, it was not likely that the duke would accede to it, and the evasion will not save the credit of the papal commander, which, however, might perhaps be defended on better grounds.

[m] It appears from Guicciardini, that the Roman casuists pretended that the passport was void, because Florida

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War of Urbino.

The opposing armies now took the field, that of the duke being, however, inferiour in number to that of his adversaries. After several movements and partial contests on the banks of the river Metro, in the vicinity of Fossombrone, in which the celebrated commander, Giovanni de' Medici, then very young, gave an earnest of those military talents which he afterwards more fully displayed,[n] the armies arrived within a mile of each

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was not expressly named as a subject of the church, and secretary of the duke; but the historian justly treats this as a miserable cavil. *Storia d' Ital. lib.* xiii. i. 133. The secretary did not, however, lose his life on this occasion, but was liberated in consequence of a stipulation for that purpose, in the treaty afterwards concluded between the contending parties. *Leoni, vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino, lib.* ii. *p.* 261.

[n] He was the son of Giovanni di Pier-Francesco de' Medici, by Caterina Sforza, the heroine of her age, and was born at Forli, in 1498. If we may credit Ammirato, he manifested, in his infancy, a most savage ferocity of disposition, which could only be gratified by slaughtering brute animals, and insulting and abusing his companions. In the paroxysms of his fury, he had even assassinated several persons, and had been banished from Florence before he arrived at manhood. His early crimes were, however, too soon forgotten in the splendour of his military exploits; and his incredible courage, and unbounded generosity, gained him numerous friends and adherents, and are said to have occasioned great apprehensions to Leo X. who sent for him to Rome, at an early age, and endeavoured

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each other near Monte Baroccio. A decisive conflict now seemed inevitable, but Lorenzo lost a favourable opportunity of bringing his adversaries to an engagement, and suffered them to withdraw from a situation of acknowledged danger, into a place where they might either accept or decline the combat. Instead of appealing to arms, the duke of Urbino had recourse to a stratagem, for creating dissensions among his adversaries, and particularly for detaching the Gascons from the service of Lorenzo. To this end he transmitted to their commanders certain letters, said to have been found in the apartments of the secretary of Lorenzo at Saltara, which place had been occupied by the duke, immediately after the departure of the papal troops. By these letters it appeared that the pope had complained of the extravagant expense of supporting his auxiliaries, and had expressed his wishes that they would return to France. Hence a considerable ferment arose in the army, which combining with the disadvantages of their situation, the difficulty

voured to secure his attachment by continual favours. The descendants of Giovanni, who was the father of the grand duke Cosmo I. swayed the sceptre of Tuscany for two centuries. *v. Ammirato, Ritratti di Uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc.* iii. 176. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol.* ii. *p.* 297. A letter from this young man to the cardinal Giulio de' Medici written at this juncture, when he was leaving Florence to join the army under his kinsman Lorenzo, is yet preserved.

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culty of obtaining provisions, and perhaps, the reluctance of the commanders to hazard an engagement, induced them to change their position, and to retire, in the presence of an inferiour force, into the Vicariato. After attacking the castle of S. Costanza, which was carried by storm, and delivered up to be plundered by the Gascons, the papal troops encamped before Mondolfo, the strongest fortress in that district. Here an event occurred which had nearly proved fatal to one of the leaders. On planting the artillery for the attack of the place, it appeared that the engineers of the papal army, either through ignorance or negligence, had chosen such a station as exposed the soldiery to the fire of the garrison, in consequence of which one of the captains and several other men were killed. Exasperated at this misconduct, Lorenzo hastened to the spot, contrary to the earnest remonstrances of his officers; where, after having with great labour and perseverance, provided for the defence of his followers, he was, when retiring, struck by a ball from the garrison, which wounded him on the back part of his head, and not only rendered him incapable for some time of further exertion, but greatly endangered his life.*

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*Ammirato, Ritratti d'Uomini illustri di Casa Medici. in Opusc.* iii. 105. *Guicciard lib.* xiii. ii. 137. Leoni, in his life of Fr Maria duke of Urbino, *lib.* ii. *p.* 230, informs us, more particularly, that Lorenzo was wounded by a Spanish

On the arrival of this information at Rome, Leo instantly despatched the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, to take upon him the chief command of the papal army. On his arrival, he found it in a state of the utmost disorder. The private disputes and personal quarrels of the soldiers of different nations had been espoused by their respective commanders, and the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, instead of opposing the enemy, had armed against each other; in consequence of which, several affrays had taken place, in which some of the parties had lost their lives. The first measure adopted by the papal legate was to divide the troops of each nation from those of the others, and to order them into separate cantonments. This task, although highly proper, was not carried into effect without considerable personal danger to the cardinal, and gave such dissatisfaction, that several considerable bodies of troops quitted the service of the pontiff, and repaired to the standard of the duke of Urbino. If, at this juncture, the duke had hastened to the attack of his adversaries, he would, in all probability,

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Spanish soldier, named Robles, who having observed from the garrison, that he frequently visited the artillery without being sufficiently attentive to his safety, took aim at his head, whilst he was stooping to examine a cannon, and struck him between the neck and the shoulder; to which the author adds, that the wound was thought so dangerous, that Lorenzo was carried to Ancona, with little hopes of his recovery.

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lity, have obtained an easy and decisive victory; but if we may judge of the intention of the commanders from a general view of the contest, it seems to have been equally the policy of both of these rivals to decline an engagement, and rather to circumvent each other by treachery, than to trust to the open decision of arms. Instead of opposing his enemies in the field, the duke of Urbino marched towards Perugia, leaving his own territories exposed to the ravages of his adversaries. Having obtained the surrender of this place, through the treachery or cowardice of Gian-Paolo Baglioni, the Florentine commandant, he began to threaten the states of Tuscany; but on receiving information of the progress of the papal troops in Urbino, he changed his purpose, and hastened to the defence of his capital. After an unsuccessful attack on the fortress of Pesaro, he again returned towards the Florentine state, and attempted to carry by storm the citadel of Anghiari; but being repulsed by the courage of the garrison, rather than by the strength of the place, he withdrew his troops under the Appenines, between Borgo and Castello, uncertain what course he should next pursue, and exhausted with the expense of a contest, which by one great effort he might have terminated both to his honour and advantage.

The duke of Urbino resigns his dominions.

In the hopeless situation to which the duke was reduced, surrounded by an army clamorous for subsistence, and apprehensive at every moment of

of being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he consented, at length, to listen to terms of accommodation. The negotiation was, however, entered into, on his part, under the most unfavourable auspices. The sovereigns of Spain and of France had seen, with mutual jealousy, the commanders and troops of each other employed as auxiliaries in the war, and began to entertain apprehensions that the continuance of this contest might endanger the possessions which they respectively held in Italy. The remonstrances of the pope to those monarchs to recall their subjects from the service of the duke of Urbino, were also urged with a degree of earnestness that could no longer be refused, without giving open cause of offence, and Don Ugo de Moncada, viceroy of Naples, was directed to mediate between the contending parties. His efforts to this effect were seconded by those of the French commander, L'Escù, and as the duke appeared unwilling to submit to the terms proposed, orders were immediately given to the French and Spanish troops then in his service, to quit his standard, and repair to that of their respective sovereigns. Under these circumstances, the duke was required to relinquish his dominions, and accept from the pope, a compensation for his claims; but although he was compelled to assent to the former, he rejected the latter with becoming spirit, as a measure that would be subversive of his rights. He stipulated, however, that he and his followers should, on his relinquishing his territories

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tories to the pope, be freed from all ecclesiastical censures; that his subjects should not be liable to punishment on account of their adherence to him; that the dowager dutchess, and his own wife, should be allowed to enjoy their possessions in the state of Urbino, and that he should be at liberty to remove all his furniture, arms, and personal effects, among which, it was expressly agreed, there should be included the celebrated library, collected by his grandfather Federigo, duke of Urbino. With these terms the pope did not hesitate to comply, and the duke, having been allowed to repair to Urbino for the purpose of carrying into execution the articles agreed to in his favour, there assented to the treaty.[p] On the same day, he quitted

[p] We are informed by Guicciardini, that on the conditions of the treaty being reduced into writing, the duke required the insertion of certain words, importing, that the Spaniards had conceded the dominions of Urbino to the pope, which not being assented to, the duke refused to affix his signature, and hastening from the place, accompanied by Federigo da Bozzolo, and others of his followers, proceeded through Romagna, and the Bolognese, to Mantua. *Storia d'Ital. lib.* xiii. ii. 151. I have, however, preferred the authority of Leoni, who allows that the duke assented to the treaty; nor, indeed, without such assent, could he have been entitled to the advantages for which he had stipulated, "Venne la capitulatione," says Leoni, "sottoscritta insieme con una patente amplissima del papa "in Mano de' Ministri Francesi, i quali la presentorno al "Duca in Urbino; & egli con publico & autentico protesto "di

ted the city, under an escort of French cavalry, and passing through Cento, again took up his residence with his father-in-law, the marquis of Mantua, "to enjoy," says his biographer Leoni, "the admiration and applause of mankind, and the "reward of his labours." Thus, continues the same writer, "did Leo, after a contest of eight "months, terminate the war of Urbino, with the "expense of a million of crowns, with which, it "was said throughout Italy, that he had only pur- "chased disgrace and insult to his soldiers, his "states, and his commanders; and with the acqui- "sition of the dutchy of Urbino, lost indeed by "the trial of arms, but obtained by the influence "of his authority." Without wholly agreeing with this author, in his commendations of the conduct and character of the exiled duke, it must be confessed that the motives of the pope in this undertaking were as culpable, as the conduct of his commanders was disgraceful; whilst the enormous expenses which he incurred, exhausted his treasury, and induced him to resort to those measures for replenishing it, which were shortly afterwards productive of such disastrous consequences to the Roman church.

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"di quanto comportavano le sue ragioni, *accettandola*, partì "il medesimo giorno di quella città, con incredibile fran- "chezza d' animo in tanta mestitia & afflittione universale" *Vita di Fr. Maria duca d' Urbino, lib.* ii. *p.* 262.

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Conspiracy of the cardinals to poison the pope.

During the war of Urbino, an alarming conspiracy was discovered at Rome, the object of which was to destroy the pope by poison; and if the name of religion had not been already sufficiently prostituted, the Christian world might have shuddered to hear, that the authors of this crime were found among the members of the sacred college. The chief instigator of this attempt was the cardinal Alfonso Petrucci, the brother of Borghese Petrucci, who had lately been deprived of his authority in Siena, and expelled from that place by the interference of the pope. This total subversion of the dignity and fortunes of his family, which had been accompanied with the confiscation of his own hereditary revenues, sunk deep into the mind of the cardinal. He considered the conduct of the pope, in this transaction, as in itself highly oppressive and unjust; but when he compared it with the services rendered by his father, Pandolfo, to the family of the Medici, as well on their restoration to Florence, as on other important occasions, and recollected the very active part which he had himself taken, with the rest of the younger cardinals, in raising the pope to his high dignity, his resentment rose to such a degree, as could not be restrained, either by the sense of guilt or the fear of punishment. In the first paroxysms of his anger, he determined to assassinate the pope with his own hand; but from this he was deterred by the difficulty of effecting his purpose, rather than by the horrour of such a crime, or the scandal that

that must have arisen to the church from the murder of a pope, by the hands of a cardinal.[q] Changing, therefore, his means, but not his object, he resolved to destroy the pope by poison; for which purpose he engaged, as the partner of his guilt, Battista da Vercelli, a celebrated practitioner of surgery at Rome. The manner in which this was to be accomplished was agreed upon.[r] During the absence of the surgeon, who usually attended the pope, on account of a dangerous and painful complaint with which he had long been afflicted, Battista was introduced to him as a person of superiour skill; and if Leo had not, by a fortunate delicacy, and contrary to the entreaties of his attendants, refused to discover his complaint to a stranger, it was intended to have mingled the ingredients of poison in the medicaments to be applied. The impatience of Petrucci could not, however, brook delay, but frequently and involuntarily

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[q] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 144.

[r] "Id eo respiciebat, ut Pontifex curandæ caussa fistu-
"læ, quæ jamdiu illi in ima sede, quemadmodum alibi in-
"nuimus, nata erat, et ob quam semel iterumque in vitæ
"periculum adductus fuit, illo chirurgo, veteri remoto, ac
"venenato medicamento uteretur. Locus Vercellensi erat
"patefactus, nisi Leo; cunctis adversantibus, salutari qua-
"dam verecundia minime se novo chirurgo aperiendum ju-
"dicasset." *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 115. *et v. Jovii, vitam Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 76.

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involuntarily burst forth in complaints against the ingratitude of the pontiff, and in expressions of enmity and revenge. This conduct soon attracted notice, and Petrucci being aware of the danger which he had incurred by his imprudence, thought it expedient to retire, for a short time, from Rome. He did not, however, relinquish his project, which he had communicated to his secretary, Antonio Nino, who was to accelerate its execution in his absence, and with whom he maintained a frequent interchange of letters.[s] Some of these being intercepted, sufficiently disclosed the criminal nature of the correspondence, and Leo, under the pretext of consulting with Petrucci, on the arrangement of his family concerns, required his presence in Rome. Conscious of his guilt, Petrucci manifested some reluctance in complying with this request, but Leo removed his apprehensions, by granting him a safe conduct, at the same time undertaking, by his solemn promise to the Spanish ambassadour, not to violate his own act. Confiding in assurances so solemnly sanctioned, Petrucci instantly repaired to Rome. On his arrival, he was introduced, in company with the cardinal Bandinello de' Sauli, into the chamber of the pope, where they were both secured

[s] *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *fo.* 76. *Fabronii, vita Leon.* x. *fo.* 116

cured by the guards, and committed prisoners to the castle of S. Angelo.[t] Against these proceedings, the Spanish ambassadour loudly remonstrated, asserting, that as he had pledged his faith for the safety of Petrucci, it must be considered as the engagement of his sovereign.[u] Leo was not, however, wanting in arguments to justify his conduct. He alleged, in reply, that no instrument of safe conduct, however full and explicit, could be allowed to avail a person who had conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, unless the crime was therein expressly mentioned. He contended that the same rule was applicable to the crime of murder by poison; a species of guilt abhorred by all laws, human and divine. By evasions of this nature, the pontiff did not scruple to violate that good faith, of which he ought to have been the first person to set an example, and condescended to use against his adversary, the same treachery which had been employed against himself. The measures thus adopted, Leo communicated, by official letters, to the other European potentates, well knowing that great interest would be made by the cardinals, to screen their offending brethren from a punishment



[t] *19th May*, 1517. *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.* 458.

[u] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 145.

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The conspirators discovered.

The surgeon Battista, who had retired to Florence, was soon afterwards apprehended, and sent to Rome. Another person, named Pocointesta, who had long served the family of Petrucci in a military capacity, was also taken into custody; and the delinquents were rigorously examined by the procurator fiscal, Mario Perusco.[v] From the confession of these wretched men, the guilt of Petrucci was apparent, and there was also great reason to suspect, that not only the cardinal de' Sauli, but several other members of the college, had been privy to his designs. Leo, therefore, resolved to call a meeting of the cardinals, in full consistory; to inform them of the reasons of his conduct, and to obtain, if possible, a publick confession from such of them as he suspected to be implicated in the crime.

Arrest of the cardinal Riario.

Before the day arrived for this assembly, which had been fixed for the twenty-second of May, Leo became so greatly alarmed at the extent to which the conspiracy had been carried among the cardinals, that he durst not trust himself in the midst of them. He determined, however, to secure the person

[v] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 145. *Fabronii, vita Leon.* x. *p.* 116.

person of Raffaelle Riario, cardinal of S. Georgio, who since the time of the memorable conspiracy of the Pazzi, in which he had acted a principal, though perhaps an involuntary part, had now sat in the college nearly forty years, and from his great wealth, and splendid manner of life, was considered as the principal person in the college. The particulars of his arrest, and of the dismission of the other cardinals from the consistory, are minutely related by Paris de Grassis, and may give a full idea of the personal conduct of the pontiff on this trying occasion. * "The consistory "being assembled, the pope sent for the cardinal "of Ancona, who continued with him about an "hour. As we were surprised at this long inter- "view," says this vigilant master of the ceremonies, "I looked through an opening of the door, "and perceived in the chamber of the pope, the "captain of the palace and two of the guards "under arms. I was apprehensive of some unto- "ward circumstance; but I remained silent. "Seeing, however, the cardinals S. Georgio and "Farnese enter the pope's chamber with great "cheerfulness, I concluded that the pope had called "them to consult with them respecting a pro- "motion of cardinals, of which he had spoken in "the morning; but scarcely had the cardinal S. Georgio

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* *Notices des MSS. du Roi. tom.* ii. *p.* 599. *Par.* 1789.

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" Georgio entered, than the pope, who commonly " walked very deliberately between two of his " chamberlains, hastened out of the room with " great precipitation, and shutting the door, left " the cardinal S. Georgio with the guards. Greatly " astonished at his haste, I inquired from the pope " the reason of it, and asked whether he meant to " enter the consistory without his stole. We " arrayed him with the stole. He was pale and " much agitated. He then ordered me, in a more " positive tone than usual, to send all the cardinals " from the consistory, and afterwards, with a still " louder voice, to shut up the consistorial chamber. " I obeyed; and no longer entertained a doubt that " the cardinal S. Georgio was arrested. The other " attendants and myself then began to form con- " jectures as to the cause of these proceedings; " but the pope soon afterwards explained them " himself, by informing us, that the two cardinals " in prison had declared that the cardinal S. Georgio " was their accomplice; that they had agreed to " poison the pope, and nominate that cardinal as " his successour. We could scarcely believe that " the cardinal of S. Georgio whose prudence and " abilities were so well known, could have engaged " in such a plot; or, if he had been guilty, that " he would not have made his escape. We were " therefore inclined to think, that this accusation " was made by the pope, as a pretext, to revenge himself

" himself for former injuries. [x] However this may CHAP.
" be, all that the other cardinals could obtain, was, XIV.
" that he should not be sent to the castle of S. An- 1517.
" gelo, but should remain under arrest at the pa- Æt. 42.
" lace. A few days afterwards he was, however,
" ordered into closer custody."

Several other cardinals confess their guilt.

On the eighth day of June, the pope again assembled the cardinals; and after bitterly complaining that his life should have been so cruelly and insidiously attempted, by those, who having been raised to such high dignity, and who being the principal members of the apostolick see, were bound, beyond all others, to defend him; and after lamenting that the kindness and liberality which he had uniformly shown to every individual of the sacred college, even to a degree which had been imputed to him as a weakness, had met with so ungrateful a return; [y] he proceeded to inform them, that two others of their members were concerned in

[x] " Non defuerunt qui dicerent, levissimæ conjecturæ " & suspicioni locum dedisse pontificem, ut vindicaret quæ " acciderant in conjuratione Pactiana, cui caussam attulisse " Sixti IV. effrenata ambitio, & ipsius Cardinalis juvenilis " imprudentia putabatur. Hærebat enim illi in visceribus " mors Juliani patrui. Hanc opinionem confirmare videtur " Grassius, ajens; *Papa semper habuit coleram contra Car-* " *dinalem S. Georgii.*" *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 117.

[y] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 145.

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in the conspiracy, and called upon the guilty to make their peace by a prompt confession, threatening that otherwise he would immediately order them into custody. By the advice of three of the cardinals, Remolini, Accolti, and Farnese,[1] each cardinal was called upon to answer, on oath, the interrogatory whether they were guilty. When the question was put to Francesco Soderini, cardinal of Volterra, he denied the fact; but upon further admonition, he fell prostrate, and with many tears, acknowledged his offence, yielding his life to the discretion of the pontiff. Leo then observed that there was yet another concealed traitor, when the three cardinals before mentioned, turning to Adrian di Corneto, cardinal of S. Crisogono, advised him, in like manner, to humble himself. With great reluctance, he too confessed his guilt. It was then determined, that the penitent cardinals, after paying a heavy fine, should be restored to favour. This fine was settled at twenty-five thousand ducats;[2] but when they had raised that sum by joint contributions, Leo insisted that it was intended they should each pay that amount, whereupon they availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to effect their escape from the city. The cardinal

[1] *Fabron. vita Leon* x. *p.* 116.

[2] *Par. de Grassis, Diar. inedit. ap. Bibl. Pub. Paris. Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 145, 146.

cardinal of Volterra retired to Fondi, where he remained under the protection of Prospero Colonna, until the death of the pontiff; [b] but what became of Adrian is wholly unknown, no tidings having been received of him after his flight from Rome. [c] The

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[b] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 146.

[c] It was supposed, however, that Adrian was murdered by one of his servants, for the sake of the gold which he had secreted in his flight. "Constans tamen opinio est, "eum insuto in interiorem thoracem auro oneratum, co- "mitis famuli perfidiâ oppressum; auroque surrepto, cada- "ver in solitarium aliquem locum abjectum occultari." *Valerian. de Literat. infelic. lib.* i. *p.* 17. Adrian was an accomplished Latin scholar, as appears by such of his pieces as are preserved in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. tom.* v. *p.* 397. *et* v. *ante. vol.* ii. *p.* 49. In the reign of Henry VII. he was the pope's collector in England, and stood high in the favour of the king, who conferred on him the see of Hereford, and afterwards that of Bath, *v. Bacon. Hist. regni Hen. VII. in op.* iii. 560. "Certé," says that eminent author, "vir magnus fuit Adrianus, et multa eruditione, prudentia, "et in rebus civilibus dexteritate, præditus." He afterwards relates the part which Adrian took in the conspiracy of Petrucci, and attributes it to an ambitious and vain desire of obtaining the papacy; which it seems had been promised by an astrologer to a cardinal named Adrian, which he conceived applied only to himself; but which was intended to refer to Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor of Charles V. and successour of Leo X. A few months after the cardinal had absconded, he was deprived of his dignities and benefices, as appears by a letter from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici to Wolsey, requesting that Henry VIII. would signify his intentions to the pontiff, as to the disposal of the vacant bishoprick.

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The painful task of punishing the authors and principal promoters of this conspiracy yet remained, and seems to have affected the pontiff with real concern. Of the guilt of the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli, no doubt was entertained; yet the conduct of the latter excited general surprise; as he had shared, in an eminent degree, the favour and liberality of the pontiff, which he had secured by the elegance of his manners and conversation, insomuch as to have been the frequent companion of the pontiff in his hours of leisure and relaxation. It was, however, conjectured, that the prosperity which he thus enjoyed, had only served to excite in him those ambitious expectations, which no reasonable kindness could gratify, and that he resented the preference shown by the pope to the cardinal Giulio, in conferring upon him the episcopal see of Marseilles.[d] Whatever was the cause of his animosity, it was sufficiently apparent, as well from written documents, as the evidence of the surgeon Battista, that he had taken an active part in the machinations of Petrucci, and had supplied him with money for carrying them into effect. During his examination, he is said to have hesitated, trembled, contradicted himself, and given evident symptoms of his guilt; whilst Petrucci, almost frantick with rage, poured out his execrations

[d] *Jovii, vita Leon. x. lib. iv. fol. 76. Fabron. vita Leon. x. fol. 119.*

execrations against the pontiff;[e] but little reliance is to be placed on the conduct of persons examined under the immediate terrours of the rack, where hardened intrepidity may be mistaken for innocence, and the natural dread of corporal sufferings, for the strugglings of conscious guilt.

Execution of the cardinal Petrucci, and others.

On the day of Pentecost, Leo having again assembled the cardinals, addressed them in a long and pathetick oration, in which he intimated, that although he might legally and properly have proceeded to degrade and punish the guilty, yet he had determined to pardon them. The cardinals present acknowledged his clemency towards their offending brethren, whereupon Leo was melted into tears.[f] He then went to attend the celebration of mass, after which his dispositions and intentions seemed to be astonishingly changed, and it was thought that he had been instigated to convert the punishment of the offenders into a source of gain.[g] On the twentieth day of June, he proceeded to degrade the cardinals Petrucci and de' Sauli, and also the cardinal Riario, from their dignities, and to deprive them of their goods and ecclesiastical preferments; after which, to the terrour and astonishment

[e] *Fabron. in vita Leon. x. p.* 119.

[f] *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. in Bib. Pub. Paris.*

[g] *Ibid.*

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nishment of all the members of the sacred college, he delivered them over to the secular power.[h] During this meeting of the consistory, which continued thirteen hours, great dissensions and tumults arose, as well between the pope and some of the cardinals, as among the cardinals themselves, of whom, only twelve were present, being all who then remained in the city. The sentence of deprivation was read by Pietro Bembo.[i] On the following night, Petrucci was strangled in prison.[j] The

[h] *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.*

[i] "Concistorium hoc duravit ab hora XI. usque ad "XXIV. tum propter lectionem processus, quam propter "clamores & rixas in Concistorio habitas; nam sunt ab "extrinseco exauditi clamores mutui, præsertim Papæ "contra aliquos Cardinales, & Cardinalium contra Cardi- "nales & contra Papam. Cardinales præsentes privationi "fuerunt XII. nam non plures erant in urbe. Petrus Bem- "bus legit sententiam." *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Fabr. vita Leon. x. p.* 120.

[j] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 146. Another author, however, relates, that Petrucci was decapitated, having refused to confess his sins, alleging, that if he lost his body, he cared nothing about his soul. "Fama erat laqueo strangulatum "fuisse, verum ut alii Roma venientes nobis retulerunt, "imposita ad faciem larva, capite plexus est; renuens ut "referebant, confessionem peccatorum facere, dixisseque "illum, si corpus amitteret, animam quoque se non cu- "rare. In Campo Sancto noctu est humatus. Hic enim "infelix juvenis fatali aliquo sidere angigula, & collo debe- "bat extingui; olim namque a Burghesio fratre, novacula "pene

The subordinate instruments of this treachery, Battista da Vercelli, and Antonio Nino, were also sentenced to death, and after suffering excruciating torments, were finally strangled, and their bodies quartered.[k] The life of the cardinal de' Sauli was spared, on the entreaty of Francesco Cibò, the brother-in-law of the pontiff,[l] and although he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, yet he was soon afterwards liberated on payment of a sum of money, and on making a humble submission, which the pope received in a most ungracious manner, and answered by a severe remonstrance.[m]

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" pene jugulatus fuit." *Ex relat. Titii. ap. Fabron. Leon. x. in adnot. p.* 285.

[k] De Vercellio autem ac Antonio Scriba, acerbissimè " supplicium sumptum ; adeo ut curru per urbem circum- " ducti, carptimque discerpti candentium forcipum morsi- " bus, ac ad extremum strangulati, in frusta secarentur. " Ea severitate pontifex magnum terrorem omnibus incus- " serat." *Jov. vita Leon. x. lib.* iv. *p.* 78.

[l] *Fabron. vita Leon. x. p.* 120. It is not, however, improbable, that the cardinal was chiefly indebted for his safety to the interference of Francis I. who represented him to the pope as one of his Genoese subjects, and of a family which he highly esteemed.

[m] Unde Papa, qui videbatur vultu quidem ægro et turbato, in paucis verbis respondit ; 1mo. quidem dicens. " Utinam vos eodem animo et mente essetis, sicut verba " vestra sonant ; et si nos crederemus vos ex bona mente " loqui, sic etiam gratiam nostram vobis impartiremur. " Sed

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As the cardinal died in the ensuing year, it was insinuated that he perished by a slow poison, administered to him, whilst in custody, by the order of the pontiff;[n] an accusation which has no foundation, but in the horrible frequency with which crimes of this nature were then resorted to, and in the idea, that as the pope had always treated the cardinal with distinguished kindness, he could not forgive the injury meditated against him. The cardinal of S. Georgio experienced greater lenity; and although he had been included in the decree of deprivation, was, on the payment of a certain sum, and without any apology, immediately restored to all his ecclesiastical functions, except the power of voting in the college; which incapacity was also removed before the expiration of a year. On the reconciliation between them, Leo used expressions of particular kindness and respect; solemnly assuring him, that whatever offences the cardinal had committed against him, he had wholly pardoned and obliterated from his mind.[o] Riario, however,

Conduct of Leo towards the other conspirators.

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"Sed dubitamus ne denuo ad vomitum redeatis, aut redire "cupiatis. Itaque si ea mens vobis est, melius est quod in "hac re supersedeatur." *Par. de Grass. Diar. inedit. ap. Bib. Pub. Paris.*

[n] *Guicciard. lib.* xiii. ii. 146.

[o] "Reverendissime Domine; ut Dominatio vestra ha- "beat veram pacem, plenam atque perfectam, tam in facie "quam in corde, Ego vobis illam annuncio & dono; præ- "sente

however, either humiliated by this transaction, or not confiding in the assurances of the pontiff, soon afterwards quitted the city of Rome, where he had so long resided in the greatest splendour and respectability, and took up his residence at Naples, where he terminated his days in the month of July, 1520.

Observations on this event.

This extraordinary transaction, in which so great a proportion of the members of the sacred college conspired against the life of the supreme pontiff, gave rise to much discussion and great diversity

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"sente hic Domino nostro Jesu Christo, in carne & sanguine; cujus gratiâ Ego remitto Dominationi vestræ Reverendissimæ *omnem injuriam, si quam ullo casu, aut tempore contra me fecistis*; et vice versa similiter, per D. N. J. C. hic præsentem, rogo et peto, ut contra me omnem malum animum remittatis, si quem habetis." *Par. de Grass. ap. Fabr. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 117. The lenity experienced by Riario at different periods of his life, from the pontiff and his father, is thus commemorated by Angelo Colocci:

"Accepere manus Riari vincla nocentes,
"In caput Etrusci qui tulit arma Ducis,
"Vitam orat, vitam lacrymis, Leo magne, dedisti;
"Debuit exitium dextra, dedit veniam.
"Scilicet hoc Medicum est; quod fesso ætate senecti,
"Tu facis, hoc juveni fecerat ante Pater."

*Colocc. op. lat. p.* 88.

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diversity of opinion.[p] The motives of Petrucci were indeed sufficiently obvious, and his guilt was universally admitted; but the reasons which actuated the other cardinals, who were regarded as his confederates, are not so apparent, and it is highly probable, that the crime of some of them merely consisted, in their not having revealed to the pope those expressions of resentment which Petrucci had uttered in their presence.[q] By some it was supposed that the duke of Urbino, who had already attempted by his letters to interest the college of cardinals in his favour, had prevailed on a part of its members to engage in this hazardous attempt; whilst others did not hesitate to represent it as merely a contrivance of the pontiff, to extort large sums of money from the richer cardinals; but against the last supposition, the confession of several of the delinquents, in open consistory, is a sufficient answer. Upon strict grounds of positive law the execution of Petrucci may perhaps be justified;

[p] Vasari, who has given some account of this transaction in his own manner, mentions six cardinals as involved in the conspiracy, having erroneously enumerated S. Georgio and Raffaello Riario as different persons. *v. Ragionam, p.* 102.

[q] This conjecture is confirmed by a letter from several dignified ecclesiasticks, and noblemen at Rome, to Henry VIII. requesting his interference in behalf of the cardinal Riario.

justified; almost all countries having concurred in punishing a projected attempt against the life of the sovereign, in the same manner as if the crime had been actually committed; but the shameful violation of every principle of humanity, exemplified in the execution of the subordinate instruments of his guilt, can never be sufficiently execrated. Are such punishments intended as a retribution for the crime? Justice then degenerates into revenge. Are they for the purpose of deterring others from like offences? Care should then be taken not to render the offenders objects of compassion, and to prevent that reaction of opinion which loses the guilt of the criminal in the cruelty of the judge.[r] Are they intended to correct the excesses and to improve the morals of a people? How can this be effected by spectacles that outrage humanity, and which, by their repetition, steel the heart against all those sentiments by which the individual and general safety of mankind are secured, much more effectually, than by gibbets, halters, racks, and chains.

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Leo creates in one day thirty-one cardinals.

In punishing the authors and abettors of this insidious attempt against his life, Leo was well aware that he had created new enemies among their friends

[r] "Sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, & in "hominibus impiis, sceleris eorum obliti, de pœna disse-"runt, si ea paullo severior fuit." *Salust. Catil. cap.* 51.

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friends and supporters, whose resentment was not to be disregarded; nor had he observed without alarm, the conduct of the other members of the college almost all of whom had interested themselves with great warmth in behalf of their guilty brethren. He therefore took additional precautions for his safety, and was usually surrounded by his guards, who attended him even during the celebration of divine service; not to protect him against a foreign enemy, but to secure the chief of the Christian church against the more dangerous attempts of the members of the sacred college. In this disgraceful and melancholy state of the Roman see, Leo had recourse to an expedient, on which he had for some time meditated, and which in a great degree relieved him from his apprehensions. In one day he created an additional number of thirty-one cardinals.* Among these were several of his relations and friends, some of whom had not yet obtained the habit of prelacy; a circumstance which gave rise to no small dissatisfaction amongst the more rigid disciplinarians of the Roman see. On the whole, however, it must be acknowledged, that in point of talents, rank, experience, and learning, the persons now called to support the dignity of the Christian church, were not surpassed by any of those who had of late enjoyed that honour. Of these, one of

* 26th June 1517.

of the most distinguished by the solidity of his judgment, the extent of his acquirements, and the sanctity of his life, was Egidio of Viterbo, principal of the order of Augustines, who had long lived on terms of familiarity with the pontiff. Of the elegance of his taste, he had in his youth given a sufficient specimen in his poetical writings;[t] but his riper years had been devoted to more serious studies, and Leo, who had long consulted him in matters of the first importance, availed himself greatly of his advice in selecting the other persons on whom it might be proper to confer this high dignity. The principal of the Domenicans, Tomaso de Vio, and of the Franciscans, Cristoforo Numalio, were also at the same time received into the college; and although this might be attributed to the wish of the pope to avoid the appearance of partiality to the Augustines, by the choice made of Egidio, yet it is acknowledged that they were men whose personal merits well entitled them to this distinction;[u] and the former of them in particular, who from the place of his birth was denominated the cardinal of Gaeta, or *Cajetanus*, soon afterwards acted an important part in the religious controversies which agitated the Christian world. Another distinguished member now elected into the

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[t] *v. Ante, vol.* i. *p.* 137.

[u] "Homines sane doctrinâ et moribus spectatissimos." *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. 121.

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the college, was Lorenzo Campeggio of Bologna, who had already served the pontiff on several important embassies, and who was afterwards appointed legate to England, to decide, in conjunction with Wolsey, the great question of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon; where he obtained, by the favour of that monarch, the episcopal see of Salisbury.[v] Among those whom Leo selected from his personal knowledge of their virtues, and their acquirements, may also be enumerated Giovanni Piccolomini, archbishop of Siena, a near relation of the pontiffs Pius II. and Pius III.; Niccolo Pandolfini of Florence; Alessandro Cesarini, bishop of Pistoja; Giovanni Domenico de' Cupi, and Andrea della Valle, both distinguished citizens of Rome; and Domenico Jacobatio, author of the celebrated treatise on the councils of the church, which is usually annexed to the general collection of those proceedings. Nor did Leo on this occasion forget his own relations, many of whom had long anxiously looked up to him for preferment, nor those steadfast friends to whom, in the course of his eventful life, he had been so highly indebted. Among the former were Niccolo Ridolfi, Giovanni Salviati, and Luigi Rossi, the sons of three of his sisters; all of whom afterwards distinguished themselves as men of superiour talents, and

[v] Ariosto denominates him the ornament and honour of the Roman senate; and Erasmus has addressed to him several letters, in terms of great respect.

and munificent patrons of learning; but the last of these was the particular favourite of the pontiff, having been educated with him under the same roof, and his constant attendant through all his vicissitudes of fortune. In conferring the dignity of a cardinal on Ercole Rangone, of Modena, Leo not only did credit to his judgment, on account of the eminent qualifications of that young nobleman, but gave a striking proof of his gratitude for the kindness shown him by Bianca Rangone, the mother of Ercole, when he was hurried by the French as a prisoner through Modena. Nor was this the only remuneration which that lady received from the pontiff; as he had already provided her with a suitable residence in Rome, and assigned to her use extensive gardens near the castle of S. Angelo. From a like grateful sense of favours, and on account of long attachment to his interests, Leo is supposed on this occasion to have distinguished Francesco Armellini of Perugia, Sylvio Passerini of Cortona, Bonifazio Ferreri of Vercelli, and Francesco de' Conti, and Paullo Emilio Cesio, of Rome. Nor did he forget Raffaelle Petrucci, whom he had lately established as chief of the republick at Siena, and brother of the unfortunate cardinal Alfonso; on whom he had lavished many favours, which might have been elsewhere much better bestowed.

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In order, however, to give additional splendour and celebrity to this extensive nomination, as well as

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as to gratify the more distant states and sovereigns of Christendom by the adoption of their relations, or more illustrious citizens into the sacred college, Leo selected from different parts of Europe several additional members, who were distinguished by their high birth or acknowledged talents. Of the royal family of France, he conferred this dignity on Louis of Bourbon; of whom it has been said, that the splendour of his virtues would have rendered him illustrious, had he been of the humblest origin. Emanuel king of Portugal was gratified by the adoption into the college of his son Alfonso, then only seven years of age; but this was accompanied by a restriction that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, until he should attain his fourteenth year. The high reputation acquired by Adrian of Utrecht, the preceptor and faithful counsellor of Charles of Spain, afterwards emperour by the name of Charles V. recommended him on this occasion to the notice of the pontiff; whom, by a singular concurrence of favourable circumstances, he succeeded, in the course of a few years, in the apostolick chair. Gulielmo Raimondo Vick,[w] a native of Valencia, was selected from the kingdom of Spain. The families of

[w] "Gulielmus Raymundus Vicus, patria Valentinus, "cujus acre judicium, prudentia in consiliis dandis, & "pietas erga Deum a multis laudantur." *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 125.

of Colonna and Orsini, which had been so frequently dignified with the honours of the church, received the highest proof of the pontifical favour in the persons of Pompejo Colonna, and Franciotto Orsino. A yet more decisive partiality was shown to the family of Trivulzio, of which two members, Scaramuccio, bishop of Coma, and Agostino, were at the same time received into the college. The citizens of Venice and of Genoa, were honoured by the nomination of Francesci Pisani from among the former, and of Giovan-Battista Pallavicini from the latter. For similar reasons, in all probability, Ferdinando Ponzetto, a Florentine citizen, was added to the number. An eminent historian has indeed informed us, that in many instances the pope had no other motive for conferring this high honour than the payment of a large sum of money,[x] and

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[x] "Molti ne creò per danari, trovandosi esausto, & in "grandissima necessità." *Guicciard. lib.* viii. ii. 146. It was also supposed, that in this measure, Leo selected the friends of his family, that he might prepare the way for his cousin, Giulio de' Medici, as his successour in the pontificate. *v. Jacob. Ziegler, in Historia Clementis VII. ap. Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *in adnot.* 52. In his series of historical pictures in the palace of the grand duke at Florence, Vasari has introduced the portraits of all these cardinals, whom he has also described in his *Ragionamenti*, or dialogue with the duke Francesco de' Medici, whom he represents as exclaiming, "Storia piena di virtù, e di liberalità "e grandezza, di Papa Leone, il quale con nuovo modo

 "*obbligò*

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and if we consider the exhausted state of his treasury, by the expenses incurred in the war of Urbino, and other causes, it is by no means improbable that this information is well founded.

Splendour of the Roman see.

This important and decisive measure, by which the pontiff diminished the influence of the cardinals then in the college, and called to his society and councils his confidential friends and relatives, may be regarded as the chief cause of the subsequent tranquillity and happiness of his life, and of the celebrity and splendour of his pontificate. Until this period, he had been constantly engaged in adverse undertakings, or negotiations of peculiar difficulty, and surrounded with persons on whom he could place no well founded reliance; but his contests with foreign powers were now terminated, if not wholly to his wishes, at least in such a manner as to allow him that relaxation which he had never before enjoyed; whilst his apprehensions of domestick danger were removed, or alleviated, by the constant presence of those friends whose fidelity he had before experienced. In the gratification of his natural propensity to liberality, and in the aggrandizement of his friends and favourites, he found an

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" *obbligò a casa nostra, per ogni accidente che potesse nas-*
" *cere* ne' casi della fortuna, quasi tutte le nazioni; esal-
" tando tanti uomini virtuosi, e singolari per dottrina e per
" nobiltà di sangue." *Vasari, Ragionam. p.* 105.

an additional satisfaction, by contributing towards the respectability and honour of that church, of which he was the chief, and which from this time displayed a degree of magnificence which had never before been equalled. The revenues of the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon each of the cardinals, and great dignitaries of the church, frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered as comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats. [y] On the death of Sixtus della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV. [z] in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin Giulio de' Medici, vice chancellor of the holy see; which office alone brought him the annual sum of twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only from within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church, derived

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[y] "Panper is habitus fuisset, cui non redirent quotannis "ex sacerdotiis decem vel octo saltem nummûm aureorum "millia." *Fabron. Leon.* x. *p.* 127.

[z] The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastick amounted to upwards of 40,000 ducats, although Paris de Grassis informs us, that he was so ignorant as not to be able either to write or read; to which he adds, in allusion to the disease under which he laboured, "ab umbilico ad "plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere, "posset." *v. Fabron. Leon.* x. *in adnot.* 53. *p.* 287.

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derived their wealth and their dignities. All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see; and many of these fortunate ecclesiasticks, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation, by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom. The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by a ubiquity, which although abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently, at the same time, an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland, or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome.

Leo X. promotes the happiness of his subjects.

By the example of the supreme pontiff, who well knew how to unite magnificence with taste, the chiefs and princes of the Roman church, emulated each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their apparel, the elegance of their entertainments, and the number and respectability of their attendants;[a] nor can it be denied, that

[a] "Pavimenta, aulæ, thalami, cameræ, Pontificia domus "omnis tota die cardinalium salutationibus patescunt; be- "nigne invitantur, paratis accipiuntur epulis ad lætitiam "uniuscujusque; non ad necem instructis, *ut olim*, cum quos "divitiis amicos suos Pontifex saginarat, immixto cibis aut "potui veneno, tollere cogitaret." *Mat. Herculanus, ap. Fabron. vita Leon. X. in adnot. 51. p. 286.*

that their wealth and influence were frequently devoted to the encouragement of the fine arts, and the remuneration of men of genius in every department of intellect. Soon after the creation of the new cardinals, such of them as resided in Rome, were invited by the pontiff to a sumptuous entertainment in the apartments of the Vatican, which had then been recently ornamented by those exquisite productions of Raffaello d'Urbino, which have ever since been the theme of universal applause.[b] The Roman citizens, who partook of the affluence of the church, in a general abundance of all the necessaries of life, reechoed the praises of the pontiff; who by a liberal policy, abrogated the monopolies by which they had been oppressed, and allowed all kinds of merchandise to be freely imported and exported throughout his dominions. Hence the city of Rome became a granary, always supplied with provisions, and was frequently chosen as a residence by mercantile men from other parts of Italy, who contributed by their wealth and

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[b] A great storm is said to have happened on this day, which was supposed to portend some disaster to the church. "Adfirmat Schelhornius, *Amœnitat. Hist. Ecclesiast. et literar.* eo die quo ad cœnam vocati fuerunt recenter "creati Cardinales, subito tantam ac tam turbidam tempestatem coortam fuisse, ut ex eo rem Romanam publicam "miserrimam fore multi augurati fuerint; nec sine metu "celestis iræ fuisse Julium Cardinalem. *Fabron. vita Leon. X. adnot. 52. p. 286.*

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and industry to the general prosperity.[c] Nor was this prosperity less promoted by the security which the inhabitants enjoyed from a strict and impartial administration of justice; it having been a maxim with the pontiff, not to endanger the safety and tranquillity of the good, by an ill timed lenity towards the guilty.[d] The happiness enjoyed by the Roman people, during the remaining part of the life of Leo X. forms indeed the truest glory of his pontificate. That they were sensible of this happiness, appears not only from the sentiments of admiration and regret, with which the golden days of Leo were referred to by those who survived to experience the calamities of subsequent times, but from a solemn decree of the inhabitants, to perpetuate the remembrance

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[c] The inhabitants of Rome, at this period, are enumerated by Jovius at 85,000 persons, including strangers; but after the dreadful sackage of the city, in the pontificate of Clement VII. and the other calamities which that place experienced, they were reduced at the time Jovius wrote, to 32,000. *Jovii, vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 83.

[d] "Exercuit et supra naturæ consuetudinem, summum "jus in damnandis, qui falsos libello ipsius subscribentis "manum mentiti, in judiciis protulissent; adeo ut Se- "bastianum Tarvisinum, tum in Gymnasio Romano leges "profitentem, & alioqui ea calamitate indignum, in Campo "Floræ concremarit." *Jovii. vita Leon.* x. *lib.* vi. 38. In the punishment of other offences, he seldom deviated from the well known lenity of his disposition, "Ut ad cle- "mentiæ laudem avide properare, remissa severitate, dice- "retur." *Jovius, ut sup.*

remembrance of it by a statue of the pontiff, which was accordingly executed in marble by Domenico Amio, a disciple of Sansovini, and placed in the Capitol, with the following inscription.

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OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. LEONI. X.
MED. IOAN. PONT. MAX.
OB. RESTITVTAM. RESTAVRATAMQ.
VRBEM. AVCTA. SACRA. BONASQ.
ARTES. ADSCITOS. PATRES.
SVBLATUM. VECTIGAL. DATVMQ.
CONGIARIVM. S. P. Q. R. P.

# CHAP. XV.

## 1517—1518.

LEO X. dissolves the council of the Lateran—Commencement of the Reformation—Superstition of the middle ages—The early promoters of literature arraign the misconduct of the clergy—Dante—Petrarca—Boccaccio and others expose the clergy to ridicule—Accusations against the clergy justly founded—Attempts made to restrain the freedom of publication—Effects of the revival of classical literature on the established religion—And of the study of the Platonick philosophy—Restraints imposed by the church on philosophical studies—General spirit of inquiry—Promulgation of indulgences—Impolicy of this measure—Luther opposes the sale of indulgences—They are defended by Tetzel—By Eccius—And by Prierio—Leo inclines to temperate measures—The emperour Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere—Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome—Luther obtains a hearing in Germany—He repairs to Augsburg—Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta—Luther appeals to Leo X.—Papal decree against the opinions of Luther—He appeals from Leo X. to a general council—Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther—I. He combines his cause with that of the promoters of learning—II. He offers to submit his doctrines to the test of reason and scripture.

THE council of the Lateran, which commenced under the pontificate of Julius II. having now sat for nearly five years, approached the termination of its labours. Were we to insinuate that the

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Leo dissolves the council of the Lateran.

motive of Julius in convoking this assembly, was that it might operate as his justification, in refusing to submit to the adverse decrees of the council of Pisa, we might incur the imputation, although we should now escape the penalties, of heresy.[a] It may, however, with confidence be asserted, that this council was chiefly intended to counteract the proceedings of the *Conciliabulum*, and in this respect its triumph was complete; the cardinal Carvajal, who had been the leader of the refractory ecclesiasticks, having not only made his submission in the seventh session of the council of Lateran, but having accepted the humiliating honour of performing divine service on its final dissolution, which took place on the sixteenth day of March, 1517. On this occasion a solemn excommunication was denounced against all persons who should presume to comment upon, or interpret its transactions, without the special license of the holy see.[b]

The

[a] "Quisquis ergo hanc synodam ea dumtaxat primaria "intentione a Julio indictam existimat, ut hoc prætextu "judicium Pisani Conciliabuli declinaret, graviter aberrat." *S. S. Concilia Labbei et Cossartii. tom.* xiv. *fi.* 343. *in notis Binii. Ed. Par.* 1672. *fo.*

[b] "—Inhibentes sub excommunicationis, *latæ sententiæ*, "pœna, omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus, ne in præsen- "ti Concilio gesta et facta sine nostra et dictæ sedis licentia "speciali, glossare aut interpretari præsumant." *S. S. Concil. tom.* xiv. *fi.* 335.

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The peace of the church, thus restored by the labours of the council, was not, however, destined to remain long undisturbed. Scarcely had the assembly separated, before the new opinions and refractory conduct of Martin Luther, a monk of the Augustine order at Wittemberg, attracted the notice of the Roman court, and led the way to that schism, which has now for nearly three centuries divided the Christian world, and introduced new causes of alienation, discord, and persecution, among the professors of that religion which was intended to inculcate universal peace, charity, and good will.

Commencement of the reformation.

For some centuries after the establishment of the Christian religion, the annals of the church have preserved the remembrance of various persecutions which sufficiently attest the intolerant character of paganism, and the inflexible constancy of the first martyrs. The subsequent conversion of the Roman emperours to the Christian faith, and the acknowledged supremacy of the bishops of Rome, gave, however, at length, a decided ascendency to the new opinions; and it would have been well, if those who professed them, had not, whilst they assumed the ensigns of authority, imbibed the spirit of intolerance, of their former tyrants. How this authority was exercised, may, in some degree, appear from the bloody and mutilated records of the middle ages. For our present purpose it may be sufficient to observe, that the papal power was, for a long

Superstition and ignorance of the middle ages.

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long course of years, almost uniformly devoted to destroy the remains of science, and the memorials of art, and to perpetuate among the nations of Europe, that ignorance to which superstition has ever been indebted for her security. In reviewing the progress of the human race from the earliest assignable period, the chief part of their course seems to have lain through a cheerless desart, where a few scanty spots of verdure have only served to increase the horrours of the surrounding desolation. Such has been the powerful effect of moral causes on the character and happiness of mankind. Nor ought we to forget, that on ourselves alone depends our exemption from a similar debasement; and that without a vigilant exertion of the faculties which we possess, ages of ignorance, darker than the world has hitherto experienced, may yet succeed.

Early promoters of literature arraign the misconduct of the clergy.

In the fourteenth century, when the human mind began to be emancipated from its long thraldom, one of the first indications of liberty appeared in the bold and presumptuous manner, in which the fathers and promoters of literature penetrated into the recesses, and arraigned the conduct of the Roman pontiffs and chief dignitaries of the church. Whatever might have been the crimes of the priesthood, the voice of censure had hitherto been effectually suppressed; and their transactions, like those of the ancient heroes, were buried in eternal silence for want of due celebration. The hardy genius of Dante

Dante shrunk not, however, from the dangerous task; and after having met with pope Anastasius in the depths of hell, it is no wonder that he represents the church as sunk under the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth.[c] The milder spirit of Petrarca appears upon this subject to be roused to a yet higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon, and declares that he has quitted it for ever, as a place equally deprived of virtue and of shame, the residence of misery, and the mother of errour; and in another he seems to have exhausted on this theme every epithet of reproach and abhorrence, which his native language could afford.[d] If the genius and character of these two great men secured them whilst living from the effects of ecclesiastical

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Dante. Petrarca.

[c] *Inferno, cant.* xi. *v.* vi. &c. also the whole nineteenth canto, where Dante finds Nicholas III. (Orsini) in hell, planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place; and who is to be again relieved, in due time, by Clement V. "*Un pastor senza legge.*"

[d] *v.* The sonnets of Petrarca beginning,

*Dell' empia Babilonia ond' è fuggita.*

and

*Fiamma dal ciel su le tue treccie piova.*

printed in some editions of his works. Should it be contended that these sonnets relate only to the papal court at Avignon, it will not invalidate the purpose for which they are here cited.

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ecclesiastical resentment, the increasing celebrity which their works acquired after their death gave additional weight to the opinions which they had so freely expressed. Even the populace, under the sanction of such authority, began to open their eyes to the abuses of the church, and to doubt of that infallibility, which had before been as willingly conceded as it was arrogantly assumed.

Boccaccio and others expose the clergy to ridicule.

Whilst these, and similar productions, were calculated to bring the church into odium and disgrace, those of the celebrated Boccaccio were at least equally calculated to expose the priesthood to rldicule and contempt. The debaucheries of the religious, of both sexes, form the most general theme of his very popular and entertaining work. That Boccaccio was the most dangerous adversary of the papal power, cannot, indeed, be doubted. What we violently abhor, we may still justly dread; but that which we have learnt to despise, ceases to be any longer an object of terrour. To Boccaccio succeeded several writers, whose works, considered in other points of view, are of little importance; but which, as contributing to sap the foundations of the Roman power, and to weaken in the minds of the people the influence and authority of the oly see, have greatly contributed to the emancipation of the human race. Such are the *Facetiæ* of Poggio, and the writings of Burchiello, Pulci, and Franco. To some of these works the newly invented art of printing gave a more general circulation

tion. Of the *Facetiæ*, upwards of ten editions were printed in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century. They were also published at Antwerp, and Leipsick; an evident proof, in that early state of the art of printing, that the work had obtained great celebrity, not only in Italy, but throughout the whole extent of Christendom.



Accusations against the clergy justly founded.

If the foregoing instances of a rising spirit of opposition to the Roman see were not sufficient to show the decided hostility which already subsisted between literature and superstition, it would be easy to multiply them from the works of other writers; but it must not be supposed, that the animadversions, or the ridicule, of all the learned men of the time, could have brought the priesthood into contempt, if its members had not, by their own misconduct, afforded substantial grounds for such imputations. That a very general relaxation, not only of ecclesiastical discipline, but of the morals and manners of the clergy, had taken place, is a fact, for the proof of which it is not necessary to search beyond the records of the church itself. Even in the council of the Lateran, Giovanni Francesco Pico, the nephew of the celebrated Pico of Mirandula, delivered an oration, under the sanction of that assembly, in which he inveighed with great bitterness against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition, and the misconduct of those ecclesiasticks, who ought to have supported the dignity of the church, not only by their intrinsick merit and

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and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment. Yet more remarkable are the acknowledgments contained in the decree of the eleventh session of the same council, by which it appears, that the ministers of religion were accustomed, not only to live in a state of publick concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from permitting to others, a conduct, similar to that in which they themselves indulged.[e]

Attempts made to restrain the freedom of publication.

The dangerous consequences that must inevitably result from so full an exposure of the misconduct and crimes of the clergy, were early perceived. But instead of applying the only radical and effectual remedy to the evil, by introducing a reformation in their morals and their lives, the pontiffs and cardinals of the church thought it more expedient to endeavour to silence reproach, by severe denunciations and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sixtus IV. regulations were established for preventing the printing of any work, except such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose; and in the tenth session of

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e "Quia vero in quibusdam regionibus nonnulli juris-"dictionem ecclesiasticam habentes, pecuniarios quæstus "a concubinariis percipere non erubescunt, patientes eos in "tali fœditate sordescere, sub pœna maledictionis æternæ "præcipimus, ne deinceps sub pacto, compositione, aut "spe alterius quæstus, talia quovis modo tolerent, aut dis-"simulent." *S. S. Concil. tom.* xiv. *p.* 302.

of the council of Lateran, it was decreed, that no one, under the penalty of excommunication, should dare to publish any new work, without the approbation either of the ordinary jurisdiction of the place, or of the holy inquisition; injunctions which clearly demonstrate, that the promulgation of such works was supposed to have a powerful tendency towards alienating the minds of the people from the Roman see; although it may well be doubted, whether the coercive measures adopted to prevent their dispersion did not increase the evil which they were intended to correct.

Effects of the revival of literature on the established religion.

The important schism which occurred at this period was also preceded, and perhaps in some degree promoted, by another circumstance not hitherto explicitly noticed. With the restoration of ancient learning, the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, and the mythology of the pagan world, were again revived. In almost all the universities and publick schools of Italy, the studies of divinity and ecclesiastical jurisprudence were rivalled by, or intermixed with, the acquirements of poetry, and classical literature. In proportion as the beauties of style displayed by the authors of antiquity began to be perceived, the Italian scholars rejected as barbarous the latinity of the middle ages, and in all their compositions attempted to emulate those elegancies which they had learnt to admire. The abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or enveloped,

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in the language of Cicero, or of Virgil; and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the Holy Virgin, were identified with the divinities of ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was denominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus;* the Son, Apollo or Esculapius; and the Virgin, Diana. Of the great extent to which this extraordinary practice was carried, a competent idea may be formed, from the specimen given by Erasmus of a sermon, at which he was himself present, and which was preached before Julius II. and the cardinals and prelates of his court.[f] The subject of the discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ. The orator commenced with a eulogium on the pope, whom he designated as Jove, and represented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand the inevitable lightning, and regulating the concerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to the death of Christ, he reminded his audience of the examples of the Decii, and of Curtius, who for the safety of their country devoted themselves to the infernal gods; nor did he omit to mention with due honour Cecrops, Menecius, Iphigenia, and others, who preferred the welfare of their country to their own existence. Inmoving his audience to compassionate the fate of the great author of their religion, he reminded them that

[f] *Erasmi Ciceronianus, p.* 43. *Ed. Tolosæ,* 1620.

that the gratitude of the ancients had immortalized their heroes and benefactors, by erecting statues to their memory, or decreeing to them divine honours; whilst the ingratitude of the Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him to the cross. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other excellent and innocent men, who had suffered for the publick benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and Phocion, who without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught; of Epaminondas, who after all his glorious deeds, was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country because he had been dignified with the title of the just.[g] When such was the conduct of the publick preachers of religion, it can excite no surprise that Pontano, Sanazzaro, and other distinguished Latin writers of the times should have admitted, throughout all their poetical works, as well on sacred subjects as profane, a constant reference to the mythology of the pagan world; or that Marullus should have written a series of hymns, addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome.

The

g *Erasmi Ciceronianus, p.* 38, 39, 40.

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The unfavourable effect which these circumstances must have produced, as well on the minds of the populace, as on the great scholars and dignified ecclesiasticks of the time, may readily be conceived; but the injury thus done to the cause of the Romish religion by the mixture of Paganism, was perhaps yet inferiour to that which was occasioned by the revival of the platonick philosophy; the doctrines of which were, at this period, embraced by many persons of great rank and learning with peculiar earnestness. Besides the various systems of ethicks, physicks, and metaphysicks, which may be traced in the writings of Plato and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many important points, from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the Platonists assert the notion of pure theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them, as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendour. Even in admitting the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the followers of Plato differ greatly from the received opinions of the Christian church. With the former, the soul is a portion of the Divinity himself. According to the latter, it is a distinct

And of the study of the Platonick philosophy.

and

and peculiar being, the object of punishment or reward. The labours of Marsilio Ficino, of Pico of Mirandula, of his nephew Gian-Francesco, of Girolamo Benivieni, and others, had contributed to diffuse these doctrines among the learned and polite; but the great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect was Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the pontiff, whose writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists, and whose pieces on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate the principles of this theology.[h]

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As the opinions of these modern Platonists were, however, originally adopted only by speculative men, who had the discretion not to attempt the formation of an ostensible sect, they were not only tolerated, but considered as favourable to many of the more mysterious doctrines of the Christian faith. A great number of persons of considerable talents and learning became the avowed teachers of these doctrines, and the inculcation of them was established, as a branch of education, in almost every

Restraints imposed by the church on philosophical studies.

[h] This will appear from the admirable LAUDE, or *Hymn*, of Lorenzo de' Medici, a translation of which is given in Note B. at the end of the volume; which is, however, very inadequate to convey to the English reader a full idea of the majestick grandeur and profound piety of the original.

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every university in Italy. Even the supreme pontiff was himself supposed to be more favourable to these studies, than to those sciences, which, it has been observed, would better have become his dignity and his character. The scepticism and indifference which were thus introduced, relaxed in a great degree the severity of ecclesiastical discipline, and afforded a wider scope for those inquiries, the result of which was so injurious to the interests of the Roman church. The danger, however, became at length too evident to remain unnoticed, and in the eighth session of the council of Lateran, held under Leo X. it was declared, by a solemn decree, that the soul of Man is immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself. It was also ordered, that all persons professing to teach the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, should explain in what respects the same differed from the established faith, and particularly as to the immortality and the unity of the soul, the eternity of the world, and similar subjects; and should endeavour to inculcate the truths of religion, and invalidate the objections which might be raised against them, to the utmost of their power. In the same session it was also decreed, that no person intended for sacred orders, should devote more than five years to the studies of poetry and philosophy; but that at the end of that period, he should diligently apply himself to the sciences of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence; in order that he might

might be enabled, thereby, to correct the errours which he might have imbibed from his former pursuits.[1]

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Whatever might have been the effect of these and similar precautions, had they been early adopted and vigilantly enforced, they were now too late. A general spirit of inquiry and dissatisfaction had already diffused itself throughout all Christendom; and a proper opportunity alone was wanting to call it forth, and direct it to some certain point. It would indeed be absurd to suppose, that without those predisposing causes, of which some have been here adverted to, and many others have been enumerated by different writers on this subject, the efforts of an obscure individual could have effected so important a revolution in the ecclesiastical world. But if Luther did not contribute all the materials of the immense blaze which now burst forth, he certainly applied the spark which called them into activity; nor could the great work of reformation have been intrusted to a more unconquerable spirit, or a more intrepid heart.

General spirit of inquiry.

The immediate occasion of this grand dissension has been generally attributed, by the protestant writers,

Promulgation of indulgences.

[1] "—— ut in his sanctis et utilibus professionibus Sacerdotes Domini inveniant, unde infectas Philosophiæ et Poesis radices purgare et sanare valeant." *S. S. Concilia. tom.* xiv. *fl.* 188.

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writers, to the misconduct and rapacity of Leo X. whose unbounded extravagance in the gratification of his taste for luxury, magnificence, and expense, as well as his liberality in promoting works of genius and of art, had exhausted the pontifical treasury, and induced him to have recourse to new methods for its replenishment. On the contrary, the adherents to the ancient discipline, anxious for the honour of the church, in the person of its chief minister, have endeavoured to show, that Leo had much more commendable objects in view; and that the real motive of soliciting the aid of the Christian world, by the sale of indulgences, was for the purpose avowed in the brief itself, the completion of the immense fabrick of S. Peter's, begun on so magnificent a scale by Julius II. That this was an object of his unremitting attention during the whole of his pontificate, appears, indeed, from authentick documents; and the astonishing expenses thus incurred, had certainly contributed, with other causes before noticed, to increase the necessity of further supplies.[j] The grant,

j "Naturalem ergo propensionem ad omnia magnifica "exequenda secutus, ædificationem superbam Basilicæ S. "Petri, a prædecessore Julio II. inchoatam, absolvere mo- "liebatur; sed exhauserat ærarium immodicis in omnis "generis res splendidas sumtibus, qui potentissimo orbis "Monarchæ potius, quam Vicario illius conveniebant, "cujus regnum non est de hoc mundo." *Maimburg, Hist.*

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grant, by the pontiff, of a portion of the profits to arise by the sale of indulgences to his sister Maddalena, asserted by Guicciardini and Fra. Paolo, as it would have convicted the pope of a direct and sacrilegious misapplication of the revenues of the church, has been the subject of particular examination, by a Roman prelate, who had the custody of the papal archives, and who has positively asserted the falsity of this pretended donation; of which, no memorial whatever appears in the records of that period.[k] That there was any degree of novelty, in the method adopted by Leo, of obtaining a temporary aid to the revenues of the church, by the dispensation of indulgences, may be denied with still greater confidence; it being certain, that these measures had been resorted to as early as the year 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence and remission of sins to all such persons as should join in the crusades, to liberate the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels. Hence it became customary to grant them also to such as, without adventuring in their own persons, should provide a soldier for these expeditions; and from this origin, the transition was easy to

*Hist. Lutheranismi. ap. Seckendorf, Commentar. de Lutheranismo. lib.* i. *sect.* v. *p.* 11. *Ed. Lipsiæ*, 1694. *fo.*

[k] Felice Contelori, who wrote an express treatise on this subject, cited by Pallavicini, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento. lib.* i. *cap.* iii. *p.* 54. *Ed. Rom.* 1664. 4°.

CHAP. XV. 1517. to any other purpose which the Roman church had in view.

Æt. 42. Impolicy of this measure. In admitting, however, that Leo did not, in this instance, exceed the acknowledged limits of his authority, there is good reason to suppose that he did not sufficiently provide against the enormities and abuses to which the distribution of these indulgences was likely to give rise; and that his commissaries, Arcimboldo and Tetzel, who, under the authority of Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mentz, were intrusted with this critical employ, not only converted it to their own emolument, but by employing ignorant monks, of loose lives and abandoned manners, brought the dispensations and indulgences of the church, and even the church itself, and the supreme pontiff, into discredit and disgrace.[1] It must also be allowed, that if

[1] "Pudet referre," says Fabroni, speaking of Tetzel, "quæ ipse et dixit, et fecit, quasi Legatus e cælo missus "fuisset ad quod libet piaculum expiandum atque pur- "gandum." *Leonis* x. *vita*, *p.* 132. The reformed writers accuse Leo X. of having exceeded all his predecessors in his rapacity upon this occasion. "On ne peut pas dire "que Jules II. qu' Aléxandre VI. ou qu' aucun autre de "ses predecesseurs fût allé plus loin à cet égard; et je ne "sai si les Quêteurs, qui sous l' inspection de son Nonce "furent employés au recouvrement des déniers, n' efface- "rent pas, par leur excès, tous les desordres de ceux qui "avoient fait avant eux le même métier." *v. Cha. Chais*, *Lettres*

if the measures thus adopted by Leo, intrinsically considered, afford no very serious imputation on his publick or private character, the time at which he resorted to such an expedient, is no additional proof of that prudence and that sagacity which all parties have so liberally conceded to him. After the efforts which had been made towards the improvement of the human mind, and to which Leo had himself so powerfully contributed, he ought to have been aware, that those gross pretensions to the exercise of divine powers, which had imposed on the credulity of the middle ages, were no longer likely to be tolerated. It is, indeed, very remarkable, that Luther himself, who was an excellent scholar, and well acquainted with the writings of the ancient philosophers, was a warm advocate of those very doctrines, which Leo and his progenitors had introduced and encouraged, and that he publickly supported the opinions of Plato, as opposed to those of Aristotle; but probably Leo did not suspect, that the inhabitants of a remote part of Saxony, had attained a degree of illumination, which he considered as peculiar to a few men of eminence and learning in Italy. As all authority both civil and ecclesiastical is founded merely on opinion, regard must be had by those in power to the character and spirit of the times; a want

*Lettres historiques sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences, tom.* iii. *p.* 707. *Ed. La Haye,* 1751.

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a want of due attention to this important maxim brought Charles I. to the scaffold, and overturned no inconsiderable portion of the long established fabrick of the Roman church.

Luther opposes the sale of indulgences.

The first measures adopted by Luther,[m] who was then a young doctor of theology, and a preacher in the city of Wittemberg, in opposing the sale, or as it was more decently called, the promulgation of indulgences, was the cautioning his hearers against the imposition attempted to be practised on their credulity; in which he professes, that so far from thinking that he should incur reproof, he expected to have found himself warmly patronised by the pope, who had in his decretals explicitly condemned the indecent rapacity of the collectors. On the same subject he addressed a letter to Albert of Brandenburg, elector of Mentz,[n] apprizing him of the

[m] He was born at Isleben, in the county of Mansfeld, on the tenth day of November, 1483. His name, in his native language, was *Lutter*, which afforded some one of his numerous adversaries a subject for the following lines, more remarkable for their scurrility than their wit.

"Germanis *Lutter* Scurra est, est Latro Bohemis,
"Ergo quid est *Lutter?* scurra latroque simul."

[n] "Igitur cum anno 1517, indulgentiæ in his regioni-
"bus venderentur (promulgarentur volui dicere) turpis-
"simo quæstu; ego tum eram Concionator, juvenis (ut
"dicitur) Doctor Theologiæ, & cœpi dissuadere populis, &
"eos

the consequences likely to result from the scandalous sale of indulgences,[l] and requesting his interference in preventing them.[o] These remonstrances were, however, disregarded; nor was it likely that they would produce on the elector the effect intended, as he had stipulated with the pope, that he should retain one half of the income derived from indulgences for his own use; a circumstance with which Luther was not at that time acquainted.[p] Finding these measures ineffectual, he immediately published ninety-five brief propositions, which he had read in the great church at Wittemberg, on the eve of All Saints, in the year 1517,[q] the

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" eos dehortari ne indulgentiariorum clamoribus aurem " præberent, habere eos meliora quæ facerent, et in iis " certus mihi videbar me habiturum patronum Papam, " cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis Decretis " clarissimè damnat qæstorum (ita vocat Indulgentiarios " prædicatores) immodestiam." *Lutheri, præf. ad Op. Lat. tom.* i. *Ed. Jenæ*, 1612.

[o] See Note C. at the end of the volume.

[p] " Nesciebam tamen cujus usibus cederet pecunia, sed " interim libellus edebatur sub insignibus Magdeburgensis " Episcopi, quo quæstoribus predicatio illa demandabatur." *Lutheri, contra Henricum Ducem Brunevicensem, Apologia. ap. Seckend. Comment. lib.* i. *sec.* vii. *p.* 15.

[q] To these propositions he gave the following title, " AMORE ET STUDIO ELUCIDANDÆ VERITATIS, *Hæc sub-* " *scripta Themata disputabuntur Wittembergæ, Præsidente* " *R. P.*

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the chief object of which was to show, that the pope hath power to remit no other penalties than such as he hath power to impose,[r] and that every truly penitent Christian is released from his offences, without the formality of an absolution.[s] Adverting to the representations used by those employed in the sale, of the monies received being intended for the purpose of erecting and completing the church of St. Peter, Luther observed, that the pope, who was richer than Cresus, might, if he chose, finish it with his own money; and that he ought rather to sell the church to succour the distresses of those who were called upon to contribute, than to erect it with the flesh and blood of those committed to his charge.[t] These bold opinions were,

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"*R. P. Martino Luthero, Eremitano Augustiniano, Artium* "*& Theologiæ Magistro, ejusdem ibidem ordinario Lectore.* "*Quare petit ut qui non possunt verbis præsentes nobiscum* "*disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine Domini* "*nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.* M.D.XVII."

[r] *Prop.* 5. "Papa non vult nec potest ullas pœnas "remittere, præter eas quas arbitrio vel suo, vel canonum, "imposuit."

[s] *Prop.* 37. "Quilibet verus Christianus, sive vivus "sive mortuus, habet participationem omnium bonorum "Christi et Ecclesiæ, etiam sine literis veniarum à Deo "sibi datam."

[t] *Prop.* 86. "Cur Papa, cujus opes hodie sunt opulen- "tissimis Crassis crassiores, non de suis pecuniis magis, "quàm

were, however, rendered less offensive by the form in which they were expressed, as subjects of doubt, rather than of positive assertion, as well as by the express avowal of the author, that he was ready on all occasions to submit himself and his opinions to the decision of the holy church; but at the same time he not only printed and dispersed his propositions throughout all Germany, but continued to enforce by his preaching, the same sentiments which he had expressed by his pen.

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No sooner had the propositions of Luther found their way to Franckfort, than John Tetzel, the dominican monk, who had been intrusted by the elector of Mentz as his principal agent in the promulgation of indulgences, and who then executed the office of inquisitor in that place, endeavoured to counteract their effects; first, by publishing a set of counter propositions by way of reply,[a] and next,

They are defended by Tetzel.

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"quàm pauperum fidelium, struit unam tantummodo Basi-
"licam S. Petri?" & *v. prov. fi* 5C. 51.

[a] Entitled as follows, "QUO VERITAS PATEAT, ERRO-
"RESQUE SUPPRIMANTUR, *Reditaque ratione, contra Catho-*
"*licam veritatem objecta evanescant. Frater Johannes Tetzel,*
"*ordinis Prædicatorum, Sacræ Theologiæ Baccalaureus, ac*
"*hæreticæ pravitatis Inquisitor, subscriptas Positiones susti-*
"*nebit in florentissimo studio Francfordensi, die Octavam.*
"*Ad laudem Dei, pro fidei Catholicæ defensione, obque sanctæ*
"*Sedis Apostolicæ honorem.*

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next, by burning those of Luther in publick. These violent proceedings only served to excite an equal degree of violence in the friends of Luther at Wittemberg, who having collected together the publication of Tetzel, committed to the flames eight hundred copies in the publick square of that city; a circumstance which Luther had the moderation to regret, and which he asserts, occurred without his knowledge, or even that of the duke and the magistrates of the place.[y]

By Eccius.

The brief animadversions of Johannes Eccius, vice chancellor of Ingoldstadt, as they consisted rather of reproaches and abuse, than of argument, so far from tending to convince the adherents to Luther of their errour, failed even in obtaining the approbation of his adversaries; many of whom have acknowledged, that they were rather calculated to increase, than to remedy the evils which they were intended to prevent. Another opponent to Luther appeared in Silvestro Prierio, master of the apostolick palace, but this officer, a part of whose duty was to license the publication of books, could not devest himself of his professional importance; and instead of answering the arguments of Luther, he thought it sufficient to assert that they

And by Prierio.

[y] *Maimb. Sect.* xii. *ap. Seckend. et addit. lib.* i. *sec.* xii. *pp.* 24. 25.

they were heretical.[w] The reply of Luther to this work, produced another publication from Prierio, in which he incautiously exalted the authority of the pope above both the councils and the canons of the church, and affirmed, that the whole force of the sacred writings depended on his authority. This was more than the patience of Luther could support. In a short address to his readers, he rudely asserts, that the book of Prierio is such a compound of lies and blasphemies, that it can only be the work of the devil; and that if the pope and cardinals countenance such doctrines, Rome must be the seat of Antichrist.[x] CHAP. XV. 1517. Æt. 42.

These disputations were regarded by Leo without any great apprehensions; and perhaps he might derive some amusement from the violence of the contending parties. Nor would this bring upon him the charge of either levity or inattention, for it can scarcely be allowed, that he had hitherto any serious cause of alarm. After having just escaped with his life, from the machinations of the college of cardinals, it is not surprising that he gave himself Leo inclined to temperate measures. 1518.

[w] *Pallavicini, Concil. di Trento. cap.* 6. *p.* 65.

[x] "Epitomen, seu (ut Sylvestraliter græcissem) Epitoma responsionis ad M. Lutherum edidit, tot tantisque blasphemiis à capite ad pedes usque refertum, ut in medio Tartaro, ab ipsomet Satana editum libellum existimem." *Luth. op. vol.* i. *p.* 54. *b.*

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self little concern at the proceedings of Luther in Germany, or that he rejoiced, that the danger, whatever it might be, was at least removed to a greater distance. "We may now," said he, "live "in quiet, for the axe is taken from the root, and "applied to the branches."[y] In fact, the church was, at this period, in the greatest credit and respectability. The personal character of the pontiff stood high throughout all Europe. He was surrounded at home, and represented abroad, by men of the greatest eminence. The sovereigns of Christendom vied with each other in manifesting their obedience to the holy see; even Luther himself had written to the pope, in the most respectful terms, transmitting to him, under the title of *Resolutiones*, a full explanation of his propositions, submitting not only his writings, but his life to his disposal, and declaring that he would regard whatever proceeded from him as delivered by Christ himself.[z] Under such circumstances, how was it possible

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y "Oramai possiamo viver sicuri; perchè la scure non "è più alle barbe, ma è ita a rami." *Segni, Storie Fior. lib.* iv. *Fabr. Leon.* x. *adnot.* 55. Bandello, in the preface to one of his novels, (*Parte* iii. *Nov.* 25.) informs us, that Leo X. was blamed, because, when Silvestro Prierio pointed out to him the heresies in the works of Martin Luther, he coldly observed, *that Luther was a man of talents, and that these were only the squabbles of monks.* "Che fra "Martino aveva un belliissimo ingegno, & che coteste erano "invidie fratesche."

z See Note D. at the end of the volume.

possible for Leo, unless he had been endowed with a greater portion of the prophetick spirit than had been conferred on any of his predecessors, to foresee that the efforts of an obscure monk, in a corner of Germany, would effect a schism in the hierarchy, which would detach from its obedience to the Roman see, one half of the Christian world? When, however, Leo found his interference necessary, his first impulse was rather to soothe and pacify the turbulent priest, than to irritate him by severity to further acts of disobedience; for which purpose, he wrote to John Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustines, directing him to endeavour to reconcile his refractory brother by admonitory letters, written by some persons of integrity and good sense, which he did not doubt would soon extinguish the newly kindled flame. The effect which might have been produced on the mind of Luther, by the moderation of the pontiff, was, however, counteracted by the violence and intemperance of the interested zealots who undertook to defend the cause of the church; and who also, as has been conjectured by more judicious writers, by prematurely representing Luther as a heretick, forced him at length to become one.[a] The scholastick disputations,

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[a] "Forse i contradittori, col dichiararlo Eretico prima "del tempo, il fecero diventare." *Pallav. Concil. di Trento. p.* 65. Erasmus favours the same opinion, when, speaking of Luther, he says, "Qui nunc bellando, bellator factus "est." *Epist. lib.* xxi. *ep.* vii.

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disputations, or dogmatick assertions of Tetzel, Eccius, and Prierio, were ill calculated to oppose the strong reasonings on which Luther relied in his dissent;[b] but if they did not discredit his doctrines by their arguments, they exasperated his temper by their abuse, to such a degree, that he was no longer satisfied with defending victoriously the ground which he had already assumed, but carrying the war into the precincts of his adversaries, began, with an unsparing hand, to lay waste all that seemed to oppose his course.

The emperour Maximilian calls on the pope to interfere.

But whatever might have been the moderation or the negligence of the pontiff, who, from one or the other of these causes, was certainly not disposed to use severity,[c] he was not long permitted to regard these proceedings, with indifference. The effect produced in Germany by the writings of Luther,

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[b] Fabroni candidly owns that the writings of Luther's opponents were ill calculated to oppose his progress. "Non "valuere eorum scholasticæ disputationes semina errorum "non in Saxonia modo, sed et in aliis Germaniæ provinciis "extinguere." *Vita Leon* x. *p.* 133. *et v. Erasmi. Ep. lib.* xix. *ep.* 107.

[c] "Multorum gravium & prudentum judicio, videbatur "res feliciorem exitum habitura, si per graves, doctos, ac "sedatos viros, majore moderatione, minore sævitiâ fuisset "acta; hoc est, *si Leo Papa maluisset, hac in re, suam se-* "*qui naturam, quam aliorum affectibus indulgere.*" *Erasmi Ep. lib.* xiv. *ep.* i.

Luther, had already excited great alarm among the faithful adherents to the church. His opinions were espoused by many men of acknowledged integrity and learning, and several persons of high rank had manifested a partiality to his cause. Among the latter was his sovereign, Frederick elector of Saxony, a prince of great personal worth, who not only tolerated Luther in his dominions, but was strongly disposed to protect him against the attacks of his adversaries. These daring innovations at length attracted the notice of the emperour elect, Maximilian, who at a diet held at Augsburg, in the year 1518, inveighed against the promoters of them, and afterwards addressed a letter to the pope, requiring his immediate interference, and promising to give a full effect throughout his dominions to all such measures as the head of the church should think proper to adopt.[d] Before the

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[d] This letter is dated fifth August, 1518. Pallavicini, (*Storia del Conc. di Trento, lib.* i. *cap.* vi. *p.* 66.) accuses Fra. Paolo of having intentionally omitted to notice this letter, which he considers as a refutation of the common notion, that Leo had proceeded against Luther with too much haste and severity; but although the letter is of too important a nature to be overlooked in a narrative of these transactions, yet it appears that proceedings had been commenced against Luther before its arrival at Rome, and that Maimburg is right in asserting, that the citation of Luther was issued prior to the receipt of the letter by the pope. *Maimb. ap. Seckendorff, Comm. de Lutheranism. lib.* i. *sec.* xvi. *p.* 41.

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the arrival of this letter, Leo had, however, by the means of Girolamo de Genutiis, auditor of the chamber and bishop of Ascula, addressed a monitory to Luther, commanding him to appear at Rome within the space of sixty days, and defend himself from the imputations charged against him in respect of his doctrines.[e] But after the pope had been thus remined of his duty by a secular prince, he thought it advisable to resort to more efficacious measures; and without waiting for the expiration of the sixty days, he sent instructions to Tomaso de Vio, cardinal of Gaeta, his legate at the imperial court, to call Luther personally before him, and in case he should persist in his heretical opinions, to detain him until he should receive further orders from Rome respecting him. Of these hasty and inconsistent proceedings, Luther complained with apparent justice; alleging, that instead of sixty days, only sixteen had intervened between the date of the monitory, and that of the brief to the cardinal of Gaeta; and that he had not even had notice of the monitory before he was thus condemned.[f] The letter

Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome.

[e] This monitory was dated seventh August, 1518.

[f] "—Ultimo et omnium suavissimum. Breve hoc da-
"tum est xxiii. Augusti, Ego autem citatus et monitus fui
"vii. Augusti, et sic intra datum brevis & citationem cucur-
"rerunt 16 dies. Calculum pone, Lector, et invenies Do-
"minum Hieronymum Episcopum Asculensem, vel ante
"mihi insinuatam Citationem, aut intra decimum sextum
"diem

letter to the cardinal of Gaeta was accompanied by another from Leo to the elector of Saxony, informing him that he had sent instructions to the cardinal, how to proceed in this important business; and exhorting the elector, to submit, in a matter of an ecclesiastical nature, to the suggestions of the cardinal, and use his endeavours, if required, that Luther should be delivered up to him to be sent to Rome; at the same time assuring him, that if Luther was found innocent, he should return home in safety; and that the pontiff was mercifully inclined, and would not refuse his pardon to a sincere penitent. [s]

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Luther now found himself under considerable difficulties. On an open resistance of the pontifical authority, he had not yet perhaps fully resolved; and the avowal of such an act of disobedience would

Luther obtains a hearing in Germany.

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" diem post insinuatam, processisse contra me, judicasse, " damnasse, declarasse. Si nunc quæram, ubi tunc sexa- " ginta illi dies mihi dati in citatione mea, qui inceperunt a " vii. Augusti, finiebantur autem circiter vii. Octobris? " Est iste mos et stylus Romanæ Curiæ ut eadem die citent, " moneant, accusent, judicent, damnent, declarent, pre- " sertim tanto spatio absentem et ignorantem? Quid re- " spondebunt, nisi sese oblitos et elleboro purgandos fuisse, " quando hoc mendacium adornare parabant." *Luth. Op. Lat. tom.* i. *p.* 161.

[s] See note E. at the end of the volume.

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would infallibly deprive him of the support of a considerable part of his friends, who in opposing the abuses of the Roman court, had not yet determined on a total separation from the church. On the other hand, to comply with the mandate, and to submit his opinions to the master of the pontifical palace, with whom he had carried on a controversy which had terminated in the most violent abuse, could only lead either to the total sacrifice of his conscience and character, or to his being prematurely associated to the glorious train of martyrs.[h] In this emergency, he endeavoured to steer a middle course, and whilst he acknowledged the authority of the pope, entreated that he might be allowed to make his defence before a competent jurisdiction in some part of Germany. His request was enforced by a publick letter to Leo X. from the university of Wittemberg, and by the personal application of the elector of Saxony, to the cardinal of Gaeta; in consequence of which, the pope delegated to the cardinal full authority to hear the defence of Luther, and on his retracting his errours with cordial penitence, to receive him again into the unity of the church.[i]

Having

[h] The persons appointed to hear him were his avowed adversaries, the bishop of Ascula, and Silvestro Priero. *v. Maimb. apt. Seckend. Sec.* xvi. *p.* 41.

[i] *Pallavicini, Conc. di Trento. lib.* i. *cap.* ix. *p.* 76.

Having thus obtained his purpose, in being allowed an opportunity of defending his doctrines, without repairing to Rome, Luther undertook his journey to Augsburg, poor, and on foot, if we are literally to believe his own narrative.[j] On the eve of his departure on this expedition, so hazardous to himself, and so important in its consequences to the world, he wrote a short letter to his intimate friend Melancthon, which strongly marks the intrepidity of his character. "I know nothing new or "extraordinary here," says he, "except that I am "become the subject of conversation throughout "the whole city, and that every one wishes to see "the man who is to be the victim of such a conflagration. You will act your part properly, as "you have always done; and teach the youth intrusted to your care. I go, for you, and for "them, to be sacrificed if it should so please God. "I rather choose to perish, and what is more afflicting, to be for ever deprived even of your "society, than to retract what I have already justly "asserted, or to be the means of affording the "stupid adversaries of all liberal studies an opportunity of accomplishing their purpose."

CHAP. XV. 1518. Æt. 43. He repairs to Augsburg.

After

j "Veni igitur, pedester et pauper, Augustam," &c *Luth. in præf.*

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Interview between Luther and the cardinal of Gaeta.

After his arrival at Augsburg,[k] whither he brought recommendatory letters from the elector of Saxony, he remained three days before he had an interview with the cardinal, although frequently summoned by him for that purpose. This he did by the advice of several of his friends, who entreated him not to hazard a meeting, until he should be furnished with a safe conduct from the emperour. On the third day, one of the officers of the cardinal called upon him, and requested to know why he had not yet made his appearance; and when Luther explained the reason, adding that he had already applied for a safe conduct, which he soon hoped to receive, "what," replied the messenger, "do you think the elector will take "up arms in your defence?" Luther replied, "he did not wish to be the cause of it." "If "you had the pope and cardinals in your power," said the messenger, "how would you treat them?" "I would show them," said Luther, "all possible "honour and reverence." The Italian snapped his fingers in the manner of his country, and cried *hem*, after which Luther saw no more of him.[l]

The

[k] On the 12th day of October, 1518. *Maimb. apt. Seckend. lib.* i. *sec.* xvi. *p.* 45.

[l] These incidents are minutely related by Luther himself in the general preface to his works.

The safe conduct was at length obtained, and was formally communicated by the imperial senate to the cardinal, who it appears, however, had been consulted by the emperour, before he thought proper to grant it. On this important interview depended the event of the reformation. The cardinal was a man of talents and moderation, and was, most probably, really desirous of restoring to the obedience of the church, one who had distinguished himself no less by the abilities which he had shown in defending his cause, than by the novelty and boldness of his opinions. Hence Luther, on his first visit, was received not only with kindness, but almost with respect, by the cardinal,[m] who being unwilling to enter into any discussion, proposed to him that he should retract his erroneous propositions, and should in future refrain from asserting such doctrines, or any others, in opposition to the authority of the church.[n] To this Luther replied, that he was not conscious of any errours; and requested to be informed in what they were supposed

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[m] "Susceptus fui a Reverendiss. D. Cardinale Legato "satis clementer, ac prope reverentius; vir enim est om- "nibus nominibus ailus, quam hi Fratrum venatores ro- "bustissimi," *Lutheri, op. tom.* i. *f.* 164.

[n] "Primum, ut ad cor redirem, erratusque meos re- "vocaverem. Deinde, promittere in futurum abstinere "ab eisdem. Tertio, et ab omnibus, quibus, Ecclesia per- "turbari possit." *Luth. op. tom.* i. *f.* 164.

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posed to consist. It might at this juncture have occurred to the cardinal, that between an open opposition to authority, and a misconception of its decisions, there is a very evident distinction. The answer of Luther might have been considered as applicable only to the latter; and the cardinal might have been justified in inferring, that Luther was an obedient son of the church, although he had mistaken its precepts; an errour which he might have left to his own judgment, or to the future decisions of the church to correct. By this conduct, the great point of supremacy and infallibility would have been secured; and the construction of the voluminous and contradictory dogmas of scriptures, and fathers, and councils, and popes, would have been referred to future decision, in which the church might have availed itself of a thousand resources to retain as much of its ancient influence as the spirit of the times would have allowed. Incautiously, however, the cardinal construed the answer of Luther, not into a submission to the church, but into a vindication of his own doctrines, and immediately objected to him two points on which he had advanced erroneous opinions. The first of these was, *That the spiritual treasure of the church which it distributed in indulgences did not consist of the merits of Christ and his saints.*[o] The second, *That in order to obtain the benefit of the sacrament,*

[o] *Lutheri propos.* 58.

*sacrament, it was requisite to have an absolute faith in its efficacy.*[p] CHAP. XV.

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What further could remain to be said on this occasion? Were the contending parties to try the weapons of controversy, and oppose authority to authority, through the immense mass of all that related, or did not relate, to the subject? And at last, who was to be the umpire between them? Or what could prevent either of the parties from claiming the honour of the victory?[q] The legate was Æt. 43.

[p] *Lutheri prop.* 7.

[q] The cardinal maintained, on the authority of the church, "that one drop of the blood of Christ, being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining part that was shed in the garden, and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, and might be distributed by indulgences from the Roman pontiff." Luther, whilst he admitted that the merits of Christ were necessary to salvation, denied that the pope held them, *like money in a chest*; but allowed that he had power to distribute them *by virtue of the keys of St. Peter!* On the second question the Roman church has decided, that a *legal obedience*, or conformity in receiving the sacrament, when combined with *good works*, is sufficient for salvation; but Luther insisted, that the efficacy of the sacraments depend on the degree of *faith* with which they were received; an opinion which the cardinal treated with such ridicule as to raise a laugh among his Italian attendants against Luther. *Luth. op. tom.* i. *p.* 164. This opinion, of the necessity of *faith* to salvation, was ever afterwards maintained by Luther with great firmness

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was not, however, aware of his errour; but having cited, on his part, the decisions of the church, and in particular, one of the extravagants, or decretals of Clement VI. called *Unigenitus*, Luther answered him with such full knowledge, both of the tenour of the decree, and the commentaries upon it, as to convince him that nothing was to be obtained by a further controversy. He therefore endeavoured to recover the ground which he had lost; and with a condescending smile, told Luther, that it was not his intention to enter into a dispute with him, but paternally to exhort him to disavow his errours, and submit himself to the judgment of the church. Luther had now felt his superiority, and was less inclined to comply with this request, than before the interview began. Not choosing, however, and perhaps not thinking it safe, to avow an absolute dissent

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firmness; and to such a length did he carry it, "as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate "not only from the necessity of *good works*, but even from "their obligation and importance. He would not allow "them to be considered either as the *conditions*, or the "*means*, of salvation, nor even as a preparation for receiving it." *v. Maclean, Note on Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol.* ii. *p.* 170. His disciple Amsdorff went still further, and maintained *that good works were an impediment to salvation. Mosheim. vol.* ii. *p.* 172. Luther endeavoured to explain his notion of faith and works, by saying, "Bona opera non "faciunt bonum; sed bonus vir facit bona opera. Mala "opera non faciunt malum virum; sed malus vir facit mala "opera." *Seckend. lib.* i. *sect.* xxvii. *p.* 100.

dissent, he requested further time to deliberate, with which the cardinal having complied, he took his leave.

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On the following day, Luther, instead of attending on the cardinal as was expected, to renew the deliberations, made his appearance, accompanied by four imperial senators, a notary, and witnesses, and delivered to the cardinal a protest in writing; in which, after recapitulating the proceedings which had already taken place, he declares that he is not conscious of having advanced any thing against the holy scriptures, the ecclesiastical fathers, the decrees of the popes, or right reason; but that all which he has said is catholick, proper, and true. Being, however, a man, and therefore liable to errour, he submits himself to the church, and offers himself personally, either there or elsewhere, to adduce the reasons of his belief, and to reply to all objections that may be made against it.[r] The cardinal again adverted to the objection which he had first made on the preceding day; but Luther, in reply, only referred to his protest, and promised to give a further explanation of his tenets in writing. Accordingly he drew up a full statement of his opinions on the points objected to him, with the reasons on which they were founded, which he delivered in person on the following day to the cardinal

Luther appeals to Leo X.

[r] *Pallavicini, Storia del Concilio di Trento. cap.* ix. *p.* 79.

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dinal, who affected to treat it as irrelevant to the purpose;[s] although he told him that he should send it to Rome, and still persevered in requiring an implicit assent to the authority of the holy see.

For the purpose of prevailing on Luther to relax in his opposition, the cardinal had recourse to the interference of John Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustines,[t] and Wenceslaus Linceus, two of the intimate friends of Luther; by whose persuasions he was induced to address a conciliatory letter to the cardinal, in which he acknowledges, that he has been indiscreet in speaking in disrespectful terms of the supreme pontiff; and promises even to be silent in future respecting indulgences, provided his adversaries were also compelled to be silent, or were restrained in their abuse of him. Conceiving,

[s] Those who are inclined to enter into this ample discussion of the doctrinal points in dispute, between Luther and the cardinal, may consult this document in the works of Luther, *tom.* i. *fl.* 165, *&c.*

[t] Staupitz was, in fact, a warm adherent to the cause of Luther, and Pallavicini informs us, that it was supposed to have been at his instigation that Luther first opposed himself to the promulgation of indulgences, "non misurando "il futuro giuoco di quella mina ch' egli accendeva." *Pallav. Storia del Conc. di Trento. lib.* i. *cap.* ix. *fl.* 82. That Pallavicini was not mistaken in this conjecture sufficiently appears by a letter from Luther to Staupitz. *v. Lutheri, opp. tom.* i. *fl.* 64. *b.*

ceiving, however, that in his appearance and conduct at Augsburg he had now shown a degree of obedience sufficiently dangerous, he determined to quit the city. This resolution he communicated to the cardinal in another letter, written with great temper and moderation, and which, with the former, may be admitted as a sufficient proof, that of the personal conduct of the cardinal towards him, he had no just ground of complaint. Before his departure he prepared an appeal from Leo X. prejudiced and misled, to Leo X. when better informed on the subject; for the adoption of which daring measure he excuses himself, in his last letter to the cardinal, by attributing it to the hardships of his situation, and the advice of his friends. He did not, however, fail to give directions, that after his departure, this appeal should be fixed in the great square of the city; which directions were punctually complied with.

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Notwithstanding the disrepect shown to the cardinal by the abrupt departure of Luther, he did not exercise the powers which had been intrusted to him, by excommunicating Luther and his adherents; but contented himself with writing to the elector of Saxony, expressing his disappointment in the conduct of Luther; and requesting, that if he still persevered in his opposition to the church, the elector would send him to Rome, or at least banish

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banish him from his dominions.[a] The reply of the elector, in which was enclosed a long justificatory epistle from Luther, was temperate but firm; and whilst he expressed his unwillingness to approve of any erroneous doctrines, he refused to condemn Luther before such errours were proved.

Papal decree against the opinions of Luther.

The important distinction which seems not to have occurred to the cardinal of Gaeta was, however, fully perceived at Rome. To the authority of the church Luther had professed his entire submission; but he had contended, that this authority, rightly understood, did not authorize the opinions which he had opposed. The supreme pontiff could not enter into a theological controversy with Luther; but he could declare the sense in which the sacred writings, and the former decrees of the church, should be explained. Instead, therefore, of adopting the decisive measure of excommunicating the refractory priest, Leo resolved to put his sincerity to the test, by a step which, if he believed in the infallibility of the church, would afford him an opportunity of returning to his duty; and if not, would compel him to desert the ground which he had hitherto maintained, as an obedient member of the church. He therefore published a bull,

[a] As this letter contains the cardinal's account of his various interviews with Luther, it is given in Note F. at the end of the volume.

bull, which bears date the ninth day of November 1518, by which he declared, in express terms, that the pope, as the successour of St. Peter, and vicar of Christ upon earth, hath an indisputable power of granting indulgences, which will avail, as well the living, as the dead in purgatory; and that this doctrine is necessary to be embraced by all who are in communion with the church. Luther had now no resource but instant submission or open contumacy: and being thus driven to extremes, his bold genius prompted him to the latter. Instead of repeating his former professions, he now discovered, that the Roman pontiff, like other men, might fall into errour; and he appealed, by a new instrument, from the authority of Leo X. to that of a general council. The bare mention of such a council, is to the court of Rome equivalent to a declaration of war;[v] but the important events which occurred

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Luther appeals from Leo X. to a general council.

[v] Although Luther in his second appeal, which bears date the 28th day of November, 1518, has not expressly assigned as a reason for it, the papal bull of the 8th day of the same month; yet it is highly probable, that he was sufficiently informed of its purport, or at least was well aware that some measure of the kind would be taken against him; as he expressly states, that "he hears proceedings are already commenced against him in the Roman court, and that judges are appointed to condemn him," &c. So that there can be no doubt that this declaration of the pope respecting indulgences, compelled Luther to appeal from his authority to that of a general council.

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occurred at this period turned the attention of Europe from theological discussions to political debates; and Luther was suffered, without any great interference from the church of Rome, to proceed in that course of conduct, from which every effort hitherto made to deter him, had only served as an encouragement to him to persevere.

Two circumstances which contributed to the success of Luther.

The success which Luther experienced, is chiefly to be attributed to two circumstances, of which he availed himself with uncommon dexterity to increase the number of his adherents, and to give respectability to his cause. He was himself a man of considerable learning; and although his chief proficiency was in ecclesiastical and scholastick

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council. The apologists of the Roman see have indeed contended, that the appeal of Luther was not provoked by the bull of Leo X. and Maimburg expressly places the appeal before the bull; but this is sufficiently refuted by the dates of the respective instruments. *v. Maim. ap. Seck. p.* 58. Pallavicini also attempts to invalidate the express assertion of Fra. Paolo, *that the bull gave rise to the appeal*, because, as he says, it must have required a month to send the former from Rome to Germany (a slow progress in a business of such urgency) and that it was not published at Lintz till the 13th day of December; but this affords no proof that Luther was not apprized of its contents; and at all events it is sufficient for the present purpose, that it appears from his appeal that he knew such measures were in agitation. *v. Fra. Paolo. Storia del Concil. Tridentino, lib.* i. *p.* 9. *Pallavicini, lib.* i. *cap.* xii. *p.* 92.

tick studies, yet he was not destitute of some acquaintance with polite literature, and was perfectly aware of the advantages which he should obtain by combining his own cause with that of the advancement of learning, and thereby securing the favour and assistance of the most eminent scholars of the time. In the letter already cited, written by him to Melancthon, on his leaving Wittemberg to repair to Augsburg, this object is apparent; and many other indications of it appear in his works. His friends are always represented by him as the friends and patrons of liberal studies; and his adversaries are stigmatized, in the most unqualified terms, as stupid, illiterate, and contemptible.[w] Notwithstanding the gravity of his cause, he is at some times sarcastically jocular; and his parody on the first lines of the Æneid, whilst it shows that he was not unacquainted with profane writers, contains an additional proof of his endeavours to mark his enemies as the enemies of all improvement.[x] On this account he sought with great

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I. He combines his cause with that of the promoters of literature.

w "Neque enim ignorantiorem Asinum ego vidi," &c. "gaudeo plane me damnatum abs te, tam tenebricoso cere-"bro," says Luther, of Jac. Hoogstratem, a Dominican inquisitor, who had exhorted the pope to use no other remedies than fire and sword to free the world from such a pest as Luther. *v. Luth. op. vol.* i. *f.* 102. *b.*

x "*Adversus armatum virum Cochleum.*
"Arma virumque cano, Mogani qui nuper ab oris,
"Leucoream

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great earnestness, in the commencement of his undertaking, to attach Erasmus to his cause; as he had already done Melancthon.[y] And although, by the violence of his proceedings, and the overbearing manner in which he enforced his own peculiar opinions, he afterwards lost, in a great degree, the support of that eminent scholar; yet he has himself acknowledged, that the credit and learning of Erasmus were of no inconsiderable service to him.[z] This attempt to unite the cause of literature with that of reform, is also frequently noticed by Erasmus. "I know not how it has "happened," says he, "but it is certain, that they "who

"Leucoream, fato stolidus, Saxonaque venit
"Littora, multum ille et furiis vexatus et œstro,
"Vi scelerum, memorem, Rasorum cladis ob iram;
"Multa quoque et Satana passus, quo perderet urbem,
"*Inferretque malum studiis*, genus unde malorum
"Errorumque Patres, atque alti gloria Papæ."
*Luth. op. vol.* ii. *f.* 567.

[y] Melancthon, addressing Erasmus (January, 1519) says, "Martinus Luther studiosissimus nominis tui, per "omnia tibi probari cupit." *Eras. Ep. lib.* v. *Ep.* 37. *f.* 339. *Ed. Lond.* 1642.

[z] "Optarim magnopere ut tuo dono contentus, literas "et linguas, sicut hactenus, cum magno fructu et laude "fecisti, coleres, ornares, proveheres. Quo studio non "nihil et mihi servivisti, ut multum tibi me debere fatear; "et certè in eâ re te veneror et suspicio sincero animo." *Luth. ad Eras. in op. vol.* iii. *f.* 230.

"who first opposed themselves to Luther, were also the enemies of learning; and hence its friends were less adverse to him, lest by assisting his adversaries they should injure their own cause."[a] Erasmus could, however, have been at no loss to know how this was effected, for certainly no one contributed to it in so eminent a degree as himself; as may sufficiently appear from numerous passages in his letters, in which he has most forcibly inculcated these sentiments.[b] Afterwards, indeed, when the inflexible temper of Luther had given offence to Erasmus, and when perhaps the danger of adhering to him had increased,

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[a] *Erasm. Ep. Jodoco Jonæ, lib.* xvii. *Ep.* 18. *p.* 764.

[b] "Non conquiescent (Lutheri inimici) donec linguas "ac bonas literas omnes subverterint." *Eras. Ep. Gerardo Noviomago, lib.* xii. *Ep.* 17. *p.* 604.

—— "Breviter sic agunt, ut non minus lædant optimas literas ac linguas, quam *Lutherum*." *Erasm. Ep. Con. Pentingero, lib.* xii. *Ep.* 30. *p.* 633.

Erasmus was accused of having laid the egg which Luther hatched. This appears in his letter to Joannes Cæsarius 7 Kal. Jan. 1524. "Ego peperi ovum, Lutherus "exclusit. Mirum verò dictum, Minoritarum istorum, "magnâque et bonâ pulte dignum. Ego posui ovum gallinaceum, Lutherus exclusit pullum longè dissimillimum. "Nihil miror ab istis ventribus talia dicta profiscisci, te "demiror cum illis sentire." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xx. *Ep.* 24. *p.* 989.

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creased, Erasmus endeavoured to frustrate the effects of his former labours, and to convince his friends, that the cause of learning, of which he considered himself, and Reuchlin, as the patrons in Germany, had no connexion whatever with that of Luther.[c] But the opinion was now too deeply impressed on the publick mind, and all his efforts served rather to establish than obliterate it. The advantages which Luther derived from this circumstance are incalculable. His adversaries were treated with derision and contempt; and the publick opinion was so strongly in his favour, that his opponents could scarcely find a printer in Germany who would publish their works.[d] Nor is it improbable, that the same reasons which attached the

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[c] "Esse video qui, quo magis communirent factionem "suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam "Reuchlini, meamque causam cum *Lutheri* causâ conjun- "gere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune." *Erasm. Ep. Leo* x. *lib.* xiv. *Ep.* 5. *p.* 656.

"Mihi semper studium fuit *Lutheri* causam à tuâ bona- "rumque literarum causâ sejungere, quod ea res et nos "vocaret in communem invidiam, et illum ne tantulum "quidem sublevaret, sed aliis aliter est visum," &c. *Erasm. Ep. Joan. Reuchlino, lib.* xii. *Ep.* 16. *p.* 603.

[d] Erasmus writing to Henry VIII. from Basle, says, "hic opinor nullus est Typographus qui ausit excudere, "quod verbulo attingat *Lutherum*. Contra Pontificem licet "scribere quidvis." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xx. *Ep.* 49. *p.* 1009.

the most eminent scholars in Germany to the cause of Luther, operated also in Italy to prevent that opposition which might otherwise have defeated his success, or at least have retarded his progress. But Sadoleti, Bembo, and the rest of the Italian scholars, kept aloof from the contest, unwilling to betray the interests of literature by defending the dogmas of religion; and left the vindication of the most important interests of the church, to scholastick disputants, exasperated bigots, and illiterate monks, whose writings, for the most part, injured the cause they were intended to defend.



The other method adopted by Luther, to increase the number and secure the attachment of his friends, appeared in his continual protestations, that he was at all times ready to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture, and to the decision of enlightened and unprejudiced judges. Bold, and even sarcastick as his propositions were, he affected to offer them only as questions for disputation, of the truth of which he was not himself, in all cases, fully convinced; and whilst he challenged the strictest inquiry of his adversaries, he deprecated as unjust and tyrannical, the adoption of any severe measures against him, until his errours were clearly demonstrated. Declarations apparently so just and reasonable gained him many powerful friends. Even his sovereign, and great patron, the elector of Saxony, seems to have considered this as a decisive proof of the rectitude of his views. After

II. He offers to submit his opinions to the test of reason and scripture.

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assuring the cardinal Riario, in a letter which bears the date of August, 1518, that he had not even perused the controversial works of Luther, he adds, "I am informed, however, that he has always been "ready to make his appearance before impartial "and prudent judges, and to defend his doctrines; "and that he avows himself willing, on all occa- "sions, to submit to and embrace those more "correct opinions, which may be taught him on "the authority of the holy scriptures."[e] In the axioms of Erasmus, in which he seems to have suggested to Luther some of the leading points on which he ought more particularly to insist, we find the same sentiment repeated.[f] It is also occasionally referred to in the letters of Erasmus, in such a manner, as to show that this part of the conduct of Luther had contributed, in a great degree, to secure the favour and concurrence of that eminent scholar. "The papal "bulls may have more weight," says he, "but a "book filled with good arguments, derived from "the sacred writings, and which pretends to teach "only, and not to compel, will always be preferred "by men of real learning; for a well informed "mind is easily led by reason, but does not readily "submit

[e] *v. Epist. Fred. Ducis Saxon. ad Cardin. S. Georgii. in op. Lutheri. vol.* i. *p.* 160.

[f] "Ipse videtur omnibus æquis æquum petere, cum "offerat se disputationi publicæ, et submittat se judicibus "non suspectis." *Erasm. Axiom. in Luth. op. vol.* ii. *p.* 314.

"submit to authority."[s] This conduct on the part of Luther, at the same time that it confirmed the attachment of his friends, depressed and injured the cause of his opponents; who, by declining the challenge, gave rise to suspicions that they were unable to defend by reason, those doctrines which they wished to enforce by violence and by threats. Plausible, however, as this conduct may appear on the part of Luther, it must be confessed, that its success was much beyond what might reasonably have been expected from it; and that it was, in fact, little more than a veil thrown over the eyes both of his enemies, and his friends. Both parties might, without any extraordinary sagacity, have perceived, that between an entire obedience to the decrees of the Romish church, and a direct opposition to them, there is no medium. To doubt the supreme authority of the holy see in matters of faith—to call upon her to defend her doctrines by arguments—to question the rectitude of those opinions which have been silently and respectfully assented to for ages—to assert those of a contrary tenour—to enforce them, not only by reason and scripture, but by sarcasm and abuse—and finally, to impeach the authority of the church itself, by requiring the dispute to be heard by impartial judges, is to throw off all obedience, and to appear in open rebellion. Could the supreme pontiff lay aside

CHAP. XV. 1518. Æt. 4°.

[s] *Erasm. Ep. Francisco Craneveldio, lib.* XV. *Ep.* 5. *p* 690.

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to which he owed his victory, he was enabled, after he had once established himself in the publick opinion, to defend himself against those who presumed to differ from him, as he had before differed from the church of Rome; and the conduct of Luther, in enforcing his own peculiar dogmas, and silencing those who opposed his tenets, may justify the assertion, that if he had been pope instead of Leo X. he would have defended the church against a much more formidable adversary than the monk of Wittemberg.

# CHAP. XVI.

## 1518.

ENCOURAGEMENT given to men of talents at Rome—Italian poets—Sanazzaro—Tebaldeo—Bernardo Accolti, called L'Unico Aretino—Bembo—Beazzano—Molza—Ariosto—His apologue respecting Leo X.—Effect of his writings on the taste of Europe—Vittoria Colonna—Veronica Gambara—Costanza D'Avalos—Tullia D'Aragona—Gaspara Stampa—Laura Battiferra—La Poesia Bernesca—Francesco Berni—Character of his writings—His Orlando Innamorato—Teofilo Folengi—His Maccaronick poems and other works—Imitators of the ancient classick writers—Trissino—Introduces the Versi Sciolti or Italian blank verse—His Italia Liberata da' Goti—Giovanni Rucellai—His didactick poem Le Api—His tragedy of Oreste—Luigi Alamanni—His poem entitled La Coltivazione—General classification of the Italian writers—The Italian Drama.

THE tranquillity which Italy now enjoyed, and the favour and munificence of the supreme pontiff, at length called forth and expanded those seeds of genius, which although they had been sown by the provident hand of his father, at the close of the preceeding

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preceding century, had, under the dark and stormy pontificates of his predecessors, narrowly escaped entire extirpation. From the time of the elevation of Leo X. the city of Rome had become the general resort of men of talents and of learning from all parts of Italy; who being attracted as well by the charms of that literary society which was there to be met with, as by the well known disposition of the pontiff to encourage and reward superiour merit, either chose that place as their stationary residence, or paid it long and frequent visits. Nor was it only to the grave and the learned that Rome held forth its attractions. Whoever excelled in any art or accomplishment that could afford amusement; whoever, in short, could render himself either the cause, or the object, of mirth, was certain of receiving at Rome, and even in the pontifical palace, a hearty welcome, and often a splendid reward.

Encouragement given to men of talents at Rome.

Italian poets.

In the gay tribe that exist only in the sunshine of prosperity, the poets hold a distinguished rank; but the fountain of poetry ran at this time in two separate currents, and whilst some of them drank at the Tuscan stream, a still greater number imbibed the pure waters from the Latian spring. In considering the state of polite letters at this period, it will be necessary to keep in view this distinction; and our first attention will therefore be turned towards those writers, who are chiefly known to the

the present times by their poetical productions in their native tongue. CHAP. XVI.

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Among those few men of distinguished talents who, after having ornamented the academy of Naples, had survived the desolation of their country, and whose exertions contributed to the preservation of a true taste in Italian composition, Sanazzaro must not be forgotten.[a] In the course of the preceding pages we have seen him on several occasions employing his powers in exciting his countrymen to resist their invaders, or in expressing his indignant sorrow at their subjugation. His Italian compositions seem to have been chiefly produced before the pontificate of Leo X. and it has already been remarked, that the superiour applause obtained by Pietro Bembo in his Italian writings, is supposed to have induced Sanazzaro to direct his talents towards the cultivation of the Latin tongue. It may, however, with justice be observed, that if the Venetian excel the Neapolitan in elegance and correctness of style, yet in vigour of fancy, and strength of expression, the latter has generally the advantage.[b] Nor can it be doubted, that if he had persevered Æt. 43. Sanazzaro.

[a] *v. Ante chap.* ii. *vol.* i. *p.* 111.

[b] Of this, his seventeenth *Canzone*, in which he laments the obstacles that oppose his attempts to immortalize his name by his writings, may be esteemed a sufficient proof.

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persevered in his exertions, and undertaken a work deserving of his talents, he would have established a reputation, as an Italian poet, which would scarcely have been excelled by that of any other writer of whom Italy can boast.[c]

Tebaldeo.

Another surviving member of the Neapolitan academy was Antonio Tebaldeo. He was a native of Ferrara, born in the year 1463,[d] and educated to the profession of Medicine; in which, however, it is not probable that he made any great proficiency, as it appears that from his youth he had been devoted to the study of poetry, and was accustomed to recite his verses to the musick of his lute. A collection of his poems was published by his cousin Jacopo Tebaldeo at Modena, in the year 1499; contrary, as it has been said, to the wishes of the author, who was sensible of their inaccuracies and defects. It was probably for this reason that he turned his attention

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The reader will find this poem in Mr. Mathias's elegant selection of the *Poeti Lirici d'Italia*, *vol.* i. *p.* 105.

[c] The Italian poems of Sanazzaro have generally been published with his Arcadia, of which there have been numerous editions. Of these the most complete and correct are those by Comino, *Padua*, 1723. 4°. and by Remondini, *Venice*, 1752. 8°.

[d] *Giornale d'Ital.* iii. 374.

attention to Latin poetry, in which he is acknowledged to have been more successful than in his Italian compositions.[e] Soon after the elevation of Leo X. Tebaldeo took up his residence in Rome, and the pontiff is said to have presented him with a purse of five hundred ducats in return for a Latin epigram in his praise.[f] A more authentick testimony of the high favour which he had obtained with the pontiff, appears in a letter yet preserved from Leo to the canons of Verona, recommending to them one Domizio Pomedelli, a scholar of Tebaldeo, "whom," says he, speaking of the master, "I greatly esteem, both for the proficiency which "he has made in useful studies, and for his poeti- "cal talents."[g] His approbation is also expressed in terms of equal kindness, on recommending Tebaldeo to the office of superintendent of the bridge of Sorga; an employment which probably required no personal attendance, and certainly produced a considerable income, as the pontiff adds, as a reason for his interference, "that it might enable Tebal- "deo

CHAP. XVI. 1518. Æt. 43.

[e] *Tiraboschi, Storia del Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 154.

[f] *Giornale d'Ital.* iii. 376. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 155.

[g] "Qui quidem Domitius alumnus sit Antonii Thebal- "dei, quem ego virum propter ejus præstantem in optima- "rum artium studiis doctrinam, pangendisque carminibus "mirificam industriam, unice diligo." *Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* ix. *Ep.* ii.

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"deo to support himself in affluence."[h] After the death of Leo X. Tebaldeo continued to reside in Rome, but with his great patron he appears to have lost the means of even a competent support, and was obliged to resort to Bembo, who afforded him a temporary assistance.[i] He lived until the year 1537, and for a considerable time before his death was confined to his bed, "having no other "complaint," as we are informed by one of his friends, "than the loss of his relish for wine. At "the same time he poured forth his epigrams with "greater profusion than ever, and was surrounded "at all hours by his learned friends;" but after the invectives which he had written against the French, some of which we have before had occasion to notice, it may surprise us to hear, that he had become "their warm partisan, and an implacable enemy

[h] *Leon* X *P. M. Legato. Avinionensi.*

"Antonium Thebaldeum, probum hominem atque in "bonarum artium, in primisque poeticēs studiis, tum "nostra, tum Latina lingua facile præstantem virum, mul- "tos jam annos unice diligo. Cui cum Portorii munus, "quod in ponte Sorgiæ fluminis est Avinionensis diœceseos "Legationis tuæ, conferri cupiam, ut eo sese alere ac sus- "tentare liberaliter possit; peto abs te velis, ut homo "egregius et excellens, et mihi valde charus eo munere "per nos te libente afficiatur." Dat. nonis. Aug. Anno secundo, Roma.

[i] *Bembi. Ep.* v. iii. *lib.* v. *Tiraboc. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 155.

"enemy to the emperour." From the censures of Muratori, who considers Tebaldeo as one of the corrupters of the literary taste of the age,[j] he has been defended by several authors, and among the rest by Baruffaldi and Tiraboschi; the latter of whom, although he acknowledges his defects, asserts his claim to rank among the best poets of his time.[k]

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Not less celebrated for his poetical effusions, and much more distinguished by his exquisite skill in adapting his verses to the musick with which he accompanied them, was Bernardo Accolti of Arezzo, usually called, on account of his excellence in this department, *L' Unico Aretino*. He was one of the sons of Benedetto Accolti, author of the well known history of the crusades;[l] and his elder brother, Pietro Accolti, was dignified by Julius II. with the rank of Cardinal. In his youth he was a frequent visiter at the court of Urbino,

Bernardo Accolti, called L'Unico Aretino.

[j] *Muratori della perfetta Poesia. lib.* iv. ii. 302, 303.

[k] Of the Italian works of Tebaldeo, no complete collection has, I believe, hitherto been published; although the learned Apostolo Zeno, more than half a century since, indicated the sources from which such an edition might be formed. *v. Note alla Bibl. Ital. di Fontanini.* ii. 55.

[l] Of Benedetto some account is given in the *Life of Lorenzo de' Med.* i. 90.

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[m] *Castiglione, Libro del Cortegiano. lib.* i. *p.* 26, 27.

[n] "Bernardus Cognomento *Unicus*, omni literarum atque nobilissimarum artium peritia insignis, inter celebres illos ea tempestate Urbinates Academicos ascitus, a Leone X. anno 1520. Nepesis dominatu donatus est. *Vita di Benedetto suo padre in fronte al dialogo de præstantia vivorum sui ævi.*" *ap. Mazzuchel. Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 66.

the money disbursed by him.[o] This dominion was afterwards restored to him, it appearing that he was succeeded in it by his illegitimate son Alfonso.[p] Of the astonishing effects which the talents of Accolti produced among all ranks of people at Rome, long after the time of Leo X. a very particular account is given by his licentious countryman Pietro Aretino, who assures us, "that when it was known in "Rome, that the celestial Bernardo Accolti in- "tended to recite his verses, the shops were shut up "as for a holiday, and all persons hastened to par- "take of the entertainment. That on such occa- "sions he was surrounded by the prelates and "chief

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[o] *Lettere scritte al Sig. Pietro Aretino, lib.* i. *p.* 141. *ap. Mazz. Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 66.

[p] *Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital.* i. 67. "Ebbe la Signoria "di Nepi, e d'altre Castella nello stato Ecclesiastico da "Leon X. la quale poscia dopo la morte di esso Bernardo, "seguita in Roma nel 1534, da Clementi VII. fu data ad "Alfonso suo figliuolo naturale." *Manni, Istoria del Decamerone, par.* ii. *cap.* xxxi. *p.* 238. There appears, however, some degree of inconsistency in these accounts; for if Bernardo was deprived of his possessions by Paul III. how could they be restored to his son Alfonso, by Clement VII. who preceded Paul in the pontifical chair, and died in 1534? The annotator on the *Ragionamenti* of Vasari, thus relates this circumstance; "Leone X. donò al *Unico*, nel "1520, col titolo di Ducato, la Città di Nepi, posta nel "patrimonio di S. Pietro; la quale poi, nel 1536, per la "morte di lui senza successione, ritornò alla Santa Sede." *Ragionam. p.* 93. *Ed. Arezz.* 1762.

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" chief persons of the city, honoured by the solemn " light of torches, and attended by a numerous " body of Swiss guards." The same author also adds, that he was himself once sent by the pope to request that Accolti would favour his holiness with a visit, as he had already promised; and that the poet " no sooner made his appearance in the vene- " rable hall of St. Peter, than the vicar of Christ " cried out, *open all the doors and let in the crowd.* " Accolti then cited a *Ternale*, in honour of the blessed Virgin; with which his auditors were so " delighted, that they unanimously exclaimed, *long* " *live the divine poet, the unparalleled Accolti.*"[q]

Distinguished as Accolti was by such unbounded approbation, one circumstance only is wanting to

[q] *Lettere di P. Aretino*, v. 46. *Mazzuchel. Scrittori d' Italia* i. 66. If the reader be curious to inquire what were the sublime and pathetick passages, which produced so wonderful an effect on the audience, he may be gratified by perusing the following lines to the virgin, which are cited in the letter of Pietro Aretino, as having given occasion to such extravagant applause;

" Quel generasti di cui concepesti;
" Portasti quel di cui fosti fattura;
" E di te nacque quel di cui nascesti."

Happy days! when poetick honours were so easily attained. The whole of this *Ternale* is printed in the early editions of the works of Accolti; and may be consulted by such of my readers as approve the above specimen.

to his glory—that his works should have perished along with him. Unfortunately, however, some of them have survived their author, and although they are not wholly devoid of merit, yet they are so far inferiour to the idea that must have been formed of them from the accounts given of their astonishing effects, as greatly to detract from his fame. Among these is his dramatick poem entitled Virginia, written in *ottava* and *terza rima*, and represented for the first time at Siena, on the marriage of the Magnifico Antonio Spanocchi.[r] This piece, which may be enumerated amongst the earliest productions of the Italian drama, is founded on the story of Giletta di Nerbona, one of the novels of Boccaccio; but the scene is changed from France to Naples, and the name of *Virginia* was given by the author to his heroine, in reference to that of his own daughter, who became the wife of the count Carlo Malatesti, lord of Sogliano.[s] Of the lyrick pieces of Accolti, which are not numerous, his *Strambotti* have been most commended,

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[r] As appears from the title of the early editions, also *v. Manni Istoria del Decamerone, par.* ii *cap.* xxxi. *p.* 237.

[s] Mazzuchelli denominates him, "il Conte Giambattista Malatesta," and adds, that Virginia brought her husband 10,000 crowns, which in those days was considered as a very large portion. *Scrittori d'Ital.* i. 67.

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ed, and of these his verses entitled *Julia*, are incomparably the best.[t] Besides the writings of Accolti which have been published, he left a poem in manuscript, entitled *The liberality of Leo X.* which an eminent critick asserts, was written in a fine style, and full of matter. Of his style a very sufficient specimen remains, but we may be allowed to regret the loss of those anecdotes, which the poem of Accolti would have transmitted to us respecting Leo X. and which would, in all probability have done so much honour to his memory.

Bembo.

The person, however, to whom the Italian criticks have unanimously attributed the praise of having, both by his precept and example, revived a true taste in Tuscan literature, was a native of Venice,

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[t] The works of Accolti were first printed at Florence, *A stanza di Allessandro di Francesco Rossegli adi* vi. *di Agosto*, 1513. 8°. Again at Florence in 1514. 12°. at Venice in 1515, at Florence in 1518, and at Venice in 1719, by *Nicolo Zopinoe Vincentio Compagna*, with the following title:

"OPERA NOVA *del preclarissimo Messer Bernardo Accol-*
"*ti, Aretino, Scriptore Apostolico, & Abbreviatore.*
"*Zoe, Soneti, Capitoli, Strammotti, & una Commedia*
"*con dui capitoli, uno in laude dela Madonna, l'altro de*
"*la Fede.*"

In the title page of this edition is the figure of Accolti in meditation.

Venice, the illustrious Pietro Bembo. "It was "he who opened a new Augustan age, who emu- "lated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and "recalled in his writings the elegance and purity "of Petrarca and of Boccaccio." The early part of the life of Bembo had been divided between amusement and study; but neither the circumstances of his family nor his own exertions had enabled him to provide for his support, in a manner equal to his rank, or his habits of life. His appointment by Leo X. to the important office of pontifical secretary, not only gave him a fixed residence, but enabled him, by its emoluments, to secure a respectable competency; his salary of one thousand crowns having been increased, by the grant of ecclesiastical revenues, to the annual amount of three thousand.[a] The society which Bembo met with at Rome was highly congenial to his taste; and he appears, from his letters, to have enjoyed it with no common relish. Amongst his most intimate friends and associates we find the cardinals da Bibbiena, and Giulio de' Medici, the poets Tebaldeo and Accolti, the inimitable artist Raffaelle d' Urbino, and the accomplished nobleman Baldassare Castiglione. The high reputation which Bembo enjoyed throughout all Italy, induced the pontiff to employ him occasionally in important embassies;

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[a] *Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital. art. P. Bembo.* iv. 739.

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embassies; but Bembo was designed by nature rather for an elegant writer, than a skilful negotiator, and his missions were seldom crowned with success. In the execution of his office as pontifical secretary, he is, however, entitled to great commendation, and the letters written by him, and his associate Sadoleti, first demonstrated that the purity of the Latin idiom was not incompatible with the forms of business, and the transaction of publick affairs. A short time before the death of Leo X. Bembo had retired from Rome, on account, as has been generally supposed, of the infirm state of his health; but there is reason to conclude, that although this was the pretext, he had some cause of dissatisfaction with the pontiff, and that he left it with a resolution never more to return. Being now released from the cares of business, he chose as his residence the city of Padua. He had already selected, as the partner of his leisure, a young woman named Morosina, whom he frequently mentions in his letters, and who continued to reside with him until the time of her death, in the year 1535; a period of nearly twenty two years. By her he had two sons and a daughter, the latter of whom he educated with great attention.[v] The

[v] Lucilio, one of his sons, died young in 1531. Torquato, who was admitted into the church, and became a canon of Padua, distinguished himself by his literary acquirements. Helena was married in 1543, to Pietro Gradenigo,

The revenues which he derived from the liberality of his great patron, now enabled him to enjoy the liberty of a private life, devoted to his own studies and pleasures, and to the society of his friends. He here formed, by great expense and assiduity, a collection of the ancient manuscripts of the Greek and Roman authors, which in point of number and value was exceeded by very few in Italy. Of these works the greater part have since been incorporated into the library of the Vatican. To these he added

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denigo, a noble Venetian. *Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital.* iv. 741. Agostino Beazzano has celebrated her accomplishments in one of his sonnets beginning,

"Helena, del gran Bembo altero pegno."

Morosina is said to have been buried in one of the churches of Padua, with the following inscription; *Hic jacet Morosina, Petri Bembi Concubina.* But Mazzuchelli has shown that this epitaph is fictitious. She was in fact interred in the church of S. Bartolommeo at Padua: over her sepulchre is inscribed

*Morosinæ, Torquati Bembi Matri.*
*Obiit* 8 *Idus Augusti* M.D.XXXV.

Bembo is said to have regarded her as a legitimate wife. That he loved her with a sincere and constant affection is apparent from the grief which he suffered on her loss; on which occasion eleven of his sonnets remain, which have more pathos than any of his other writings, *v. et Bemb. Ep. Fam. lib.* vi. *Ep.* 66, 67. *Lettere volgari. vol.* ii. *Eb.* ii. *Ep.* 14.

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added a cabinet of coins and medals, enriched with other ancient specimens of art. A part of his time was spent at his country residence of Villa-bozza, in the vicinity of Padua, where he devoted himself to the study of botany. The garden which he here completed and furnished with plants, is noticed by various authors. In this state of independence a great part of his writings were produced, and such was the happiness which he enjoyed, that when, in the year 1539, he was unexpectedly nominated by Paul III. to the rank of cardinal, he is said to have hesitated for some time whether he should accept that dignity.[v] His choice was, however, at last determined by his having accidentally heard, at the celebration of mass, the priest pronounce the words, *Peter, follow me*,[w] which he chose to understand as applied to himself. He now once more repaired to Rome, where he was highly favoured by the pontiff, who conferred upon him many lucrative benefices; and where he found in the college many of his former friends, particularly the cardinals Contarino, Sadoleti, Cortese, and the English

[v] The pains which Bembo afterwards took to obviate the objections that had been made to his moral conduct, and his flattering letters to Paul III. seem, however, to contradict the report encouraged by Beccatelli, his biographer, and others, that he reluctantly acceded to this promotion.

[w] *Petre, sequere me. sed v. Mazzuchelli*, iv. 746.

English cardinal Reginald Pole, who then held a high rank both in the political and literary world. In this city Bembo terminated his days, in the year 1547, being then upwards of seventy-six years of age.[x] CHAP. XVI. 1518. Æt. 43.

The high commendations bestowed on the writings of Bembo by almost all his contemporaries, have been confirmed by the best criticks of succeeding times; nor can it be denied, that by selecting as his models Boccaccio and Petrarca, and by combining their excellencies with his own correct and elegant taste, he contributed in an eminent degree to banish that rusticity of style, which characterized the writings of most of the Italian authors at the commencement of the sixteenth century. His authority and example produced an astonishing effect, and among his disciples and imitators

[x] Bembo was interred in the church of S. Maria alla Minerva, at Rome, behind the great altar, and between the tombs of Leo X. and Clement VII. with the following inscription, placed by his son, Torquato.

PETRO BEMBO PATRITIO VENETO OB EJUS SINGULARES VIRTUTES,
A PAULO III. PONTIF. MAX. IN SACRUM COLLEGIUM COOPTATO,
TORQUATUS BEMBUS P.
OBIIT XV. KAL. FEB. M.D.XLVII.
VIXIT. AN. LXXVI. MEN. VII. D. XXVIII.

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imitators may be found many of the first scholars and most distinguished writers of the age. It must, however, be observed, that the merit of his works consists rather in purity and correctness of diction, than in vigour of sentiment or variety of poetical ornament; and that they exhibit but little diversity either of character or subject, having for the most part been devoted to the celebration of an amorous passion. His *Canzone* on the death of his brother Carlo has been highly commended, and must be allowed to possess merit, without, however, exhibiting that warmth of natural feeling which such an occasion might be expected to produce.[y] In estimating with impartiality the talents of Bembo, and ascertaining the services which he rendered to the progress of taste, it will be necessary to make a distinction between the advancement of Italian poetry, and the improvement of the Italian language; between the efforts of genius and the result of industry. The poetical works of Bembo consist chiefly of *Sonetti* and *Canzoni*, in the style of Petrarca, and are frequently more correct and chaste, but at the same time more unimpassioned and cold, than the model on which they are formed. In the perusal of these pieces we perceive nothing of that genuine feeling, which, proceeding from the heart

[y] This piece is selected by Mr. Mathias, in his collection of the *Poeti Lirici Italiani*, *vol.* i. *p.* 86.

heart of the author, makes a direct and irresistible appeal to that of the reader; and but little even of that secondary characteristick of genius, which luxuriates in the regions of fancy, and by its vivid and rapid imagery delights the imagination. On the contrary, whilst these pieces stand approved to our deliberate judgment, we feel a conviction that any person of good taste and extensive reading might, by a due portion of labour, produce works of equal merit. That this conviction is well founded is proved in no unequivocal manner, by the innumerable throng of writers who have imitated the manner of Bembo; and who, availing themselves of the example of this scholastick style of composition, have inundated Italy with writings which seldom exhibit any distinction either of character or of merit. That the introduction of this manner of writing was fatal to the higher productions of genius cannot be doubted. Internal worth was sacrificed to external ornament. The vehicle was gilt and polished to the highest degree, but it contained nothing of any value; and the whole attention of these writers was employed, not in discovering *what* should be said, but *how* it should be said.

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One of the most intimate associates of Bembo, as well in his various embassies and publick concerns, as in his literary occupations, was his countryman Agostino Beazzano; who, although he was only descended from a family of the order of

Beazzano.

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Venetian citizens, enumerated among his ancestors Francesco Beazzano, great chancellor of the republick. Agostino was a knight of Jerusalem, and was frequently despatched by Leo X. on missions of great importance.[z] Such was his acquaintance with the concerns of the Roman court, and his experience in matters of business, that he was consulted at Rome as an oracle. By the bounty of Leo X. he became possessed of rich church preferments, and it seems not improbable that he aspired to the rank of a cardinal; although, in one of his Latin poems, addressed to Leo X. he professes not to have carried his views so high.[a] An

[z] A letter from Leo X. to Leonardo Loredano, doge of Venice, not only demonstrates the high esteem in which the pontiff held Beazzano, but shows that he continued the hereditary practice of his family, in combining the affairs of state with the promotion of literature. "Ea de re Augustinum Beatianum, familiarem meum et civem tuum, probum ipsum virum, et ingenio doctrinâque præstantem, ad te mitto; qui tibi mentem meam latius explicabit. Cui etiam mandavi, ut certos Græcorum libros, quibus egeo, Venetiis perquireret." *Bemb. Ep. nom. Leon.* x. *lib.* x. *ep.* 45.

[a] "Non ego divitias regum, non anxius opto
"Quas Tagus auriferis in mare volvit aquis;
"Nec magnos ut consideam spectandus amicos
"Inter, purpureo cinctus honore caput;
"Amplave ut innumeris strepitent mea tecta ministris,
"Et vix mensa ferat delitiosa dapes;
"O Decus,

An infirm state of health compelled him, soon after the death of Leo, to quit the Roman court, and the last eighteen years of his life were spent in retirement at Trevigi; where he endeavoured, not without success, to alleviate the pains, or exhilarate the langour of sickness, by the delights of study and the society of his friends. Among the various tributes of respect to his memory,[b] it may be sufficient to notice, that he is enumerated by Ariosto among the most eminent scholars of the age.[c]

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From the works of Beazzano it appears, that he maintained a literary intercourse with most of the

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"O Decus, O nostri spes unica, vitaque secli,
"Non minor hoc, placidus quem regis orbe, Leo.
"Fortunæ tantum dederis, Leo maxime, quantum
"Parco sufficiat, si mihi, dives ero."

The same sentiment is also repeated in another epistle, addressed to Bembo, requesting his interest with the pontiff, and beginning

"Cum te rector amet lati Leo maximus orbis."

[b] For many of these, *v. Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. vol.* iv. *p.* 573.

[c] *Arioeto Orl. Fur. cant.* xlvi. *st.* 14. On the tomb of Beazzano, in the church of Trevigi, is inscribed the following epitaph,

*Hospes, Beatianus hic est, scis cetera; num tam*
*Durus es, ut siccis hinc abeas oculis?*

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the learned men of his time. His Latin writings are deservedly preferred to those in his native tongue, which are not wholly devested of the rusticity which prevailed in the early part of the sixteenth century. Of his sonnets, a great part are addressed to the emperour Charles V. The rest are chiefly devoted to the commendation of Leo X.[d] of Pietro Bembo, of the Marquis del Vasto, and other distinguished characters. Among them are also several addressed to Titian, the eminent painter, in terms of high admiration and great esteem.

Molza.

Another author, equally celebrated for his Italian and his Latin productions, is the elegant Francesco Maria Molza, whose writings have a more distinctive character than those of most of his contemporaries, and by their peculiar tenderness and expression might entitle their author to the appellation of the Tibullus of his age. He was born of a noble family at Modena, in the year 1489, and having been sent by his father to Rome, had there the good fortune to be associated in his early studies

[d] The Latin and Italian works of Beazzano were printed in one volume octavo, under the title, DE LE COSE VOLGARI ET LATINE DEL BEATIANO. *Venetiis per Bartholomæum de Zanettis de Brixia, anno a nativitate Domini*, 1538, *die decimâ Octob.* The edition which appears to bear the date of 1551, is only the former with a new title.

dies with the accomplished Marc-Antonio Flaminio, one of the most exquisite Latin poets of the age.[e] After having made an uncommon proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and acquired also a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which then first began to be studied in Italy, he was recalled by his father to Modena; where, in the year 1512, he married and took up his residence.[f] He had, however, already distinguished himself by several admired productions; and having heard of the extraordinary liberality of Leo X. towards men of talents, and particularly those who excelled in poetry, he felt such an irresistible inclination to return to Rome, that neither the remonstrances of his parents, nor his affection for his wife and children,

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[e] "Fr. Mariam Molciam Mutinensem, et M. Antonium "Flaminium adolescentes, adeò bonarum literarum studio "inflammatos video, ut assidue ambo vel libros evolvant, "vel aliquid ipsi componant. De utroque magna concipere "possumus, nec solum hi humanitatis flosculos legunt, sed "ulterius studia sua proferunt. Franciscus enim post ver-"nacula, in quibus suæ jam eruditionis certa documenta "dedit, Latina Græcis, et Hebræis conjungit, et licet ni-"mio plus mulierum amoribus insanire videatur, inter "rarissima tamen ingenia connumerandus." *Lil. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poetis suor. temp. Dial.* i. *in Op. tom.* ii. *p.* 544. *Ed. Lug. Bat.* 1696.

[f] *Serassi, vita del Molza, in fronte delle Opere volgari e latine del Molza, p.* 4.

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dren, could prevent him from carrying his purpose into execution. He accordingly arrived at that city about the close of the year 1516, under the pretext of forwarding a law-suit in which his family was involved, but to which it appears he afterwards paid very little attention.[g] Here he soon formed an intimate acquaintance with Filippo Beroaldo, then librarian of the Vatican, Sadoleti, Bembo, Colocci, Tebaldeo, and the other distinguished scholars of Rome, to whom his society was highly acceptable. In this situation he appears wholly to have forgotten his country, his parents, his family, and his wife, and to have mingled the studies of literature with the gratification of a licentious passion for a Roman lady; in consequence of which he received a wound from the hand of an unknown assassin, which had nearly cost him his life.[h] Soon after the death of Leo X. he quitted the city of Rome, in common with many other eminent and learned men, who found in Adrian VI. the successour of Leo, a pontiff who held all the productions of literature and of art in the utmost contempt. Instead, however, of returning to his family, Molza retired to Bologna, where he soon became deeply enamoured of Camilla Gonzaga, a lady of rank and beauty, and a warm admirer of Italian poetry.

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[g] *Serassi, vita del Molza, p.* 5, 6.

[h] *Ibid. p.* 10, 11.

poetry. By her attractions he was detained there two years; although it has been supposed that his passion was merely of a platonick kind.[i] The life of Molza seems, however, to have been wholly divided between poetry and dissipation.[k] During the transitory splendour of the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, he was one of the brightest ornaments of his court, and by his extraordinary talents and vivacity attracted the admiration, and even conciliated the esteem and affection of a large circle of friends.[l] After having abandoned his wife and his

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[i] On the portrait of this lady, Molza wrote a poem in two parts, each consisting of fifty stanzas, in *ottava rima*, which is published in his works, *vol.* i. *p.* 133, and contains many beautiful passages.

[k] He had the misfortune to be present at the miserable sackage of Rome, by the banditti under the duke of Bourbon, in 1527, which he indignantly mentions in one of his elegies, addressed to his friend Luigi Priuli.

" His tecum decuit me potius vivere in oris,
" Quam spectasse Urbis funera Romuleæ;
" Quam sævas acies, truculenti et Teutonis iras,
" Ustaque ab Hispano milite templa Deûm.
" Vidi ego Vestales fœdis contactibus actas
" Nequicquam sparsis exululare comis;
" Collaque demissum ferro, gravibusque catenis
" Romana sacra procubuisse via."

*Molzæ, opt. tom.* ii. *p.* 169.

[l] It would be tiresome to collect the eulogies on the character of Molza; almost all the distinguished writers of the

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his offspring, and been disinherited by his father, he at length terminated his days by that disease which

the time having left their testimony to his praise. None of these are, however, more honourable to his memory, than that of the virtuous and accomplished Vittoria Colonna, who has devoted two of her sonnets to commemorate the death of the parents of Molza, who both died nearly at the same time, and to excite the son to immortalize their virtues in his writings.

" Opra è da voi con l'armonia celeste
" Del vostro altero suon, che nostra etade
" Già del antico onor lieta riveste,
" Dir, com' ebber quest' alme libertade
" Insieme a un tempo, e come insieme preste,
" Volar ne le divine alte contrade."

*Son.* 118. *Ed. del Corso*, 1558.

Nor must we omit the following elegant lines of his early friend Flaminio.

*De Francisco Molsa.*

" Postera dum numeros dulces mirabitur ætas,
" Sive Tibulle, tuos, sive Petrarca, tuos;
" Tu quoque, Molsa, pari semper celebrabere fama,
" Vel potius titulo duplice major eris;
" Quicquid enim laudis dedit inclyta Musa duobus
" Vatibus, hoc uni donat habere tibi."

*Flam. Carm. üb.* ii. 19.

His memory was also honoured by the following epitaph, from the pen of the count Nicolo d' Arco.

" Molza jaces. Musæ te discedente Latinæ
" Flêrunt, et Tuscis miscuerunt lacrimas."

which afforded a subject to Fracastoro for his admirable poem; to which the complaints of Molza, expressed in verses of equal elegance, might serve at once as a supplement and a comment. [m]



The

[m] In one of his elegies addressed to the cardinal Benedetto Accolti, we find the following unequivocal and impressive lines:

"Tertia nam misero jampridem ducitur ætas,
"Ex quo me morbi vis fera corripuit;
"Quam lectæ nequeunt, succisve potentibus herbæ,
"Pellere, nec magico Saga ministerio,
"Vecta nec ipsa Indis nuper felicibus arbor,
"Una tot humanis usibus apta juvat.
"Decolor ille meus toto jam corpore sanguis,
"Aruit, et solitus deserit ora nitor.
"Quæ si forte modis spectes pallantia miris,
"Esse alium quam me, tu, Benedicte, putes.
"Quid referam somni ductas sine munere noctes,
"Fugerit utque omnis lumina nostra sopor?
"Et toties haustum frustra cereale papaver,
"Misceri et medica quicquid ab arte solet?
"Sævit atrox morbi rabies, tenerisque medullis
"Hæret, et exhaustis ossibus, ossa vorat."

*Molzæ, op.* i. 194.

A short time before his death, he also addressed a most beautiful and pathetick Latin elegy to his friends; printed in his works, *vol.* i. *p.* 242. That Molza was not so enveloped in licentious amours as wholly to have relinquished the hopes of a lasting fame, is evident from one of his sonnets, beginning,

"Ako Silenzio, ch' a pensar mi tiri."

*In. Op. vol.* i. *p.* 43.

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The most celebrated composition of Molza, in the Italian language, is his pastoral *Poemetto*, entitled, *La Ninfa Tiberina*, written in praise of Faustina Mancini, a Roman lady who then engaged his ardent but volatile affections. Some of his *Canzoni* have also great merit, and unite considerable vigour of sentiment with great simplicity and elegance of expression. This may sufficiently appear from one of these productions, which was probably addressed to Ippolito de' Medici, and in which he laments that his young patron did not enjoy those opportunities of signalizing himself by his great talents, which would have been afforded him under the pontificate of Leo X. at the same time regretting the sudden extinction of those hopes which the virtues and munificence of that pontiff had inspired.

Ariosto.

Whilst many of the most distinguished scholars of Italy, attracted by the generosity of the pontiff, had taken up their residence in Rome, the celebrated Ariosto, the chief favourite of the muses, and the glory of his age, remained at Ferrara, attached to the court of the cardinal Ippolito d'Este, in whose employment he had lived from the year 1503.[n] During this period he had rendered many important

[n] *Ante, chap.* ii *vol.* i. *p.* 149. In the year 1507, he was sent by the cardinal Ippolito to Mantua, to congratulate his sister Isabella d' Este, the wife of the marquis Francesco Gonzago,

important services to Alfonso duke of Ferrara, both in a civil and military capacity; in the former of which he had incurred no less danger than in the latter, particularly on his embassy to Rome in the year 1512, to appease the anger of that irascible pontiff Julius II.[o] The long and friendly intercourse which had subsisted between Ariosto and Leo X. before his elevation to the pontificate, induced the poet soon after that event to hasten to Rome, in the hopes of sharing that bounty which was so liberally bestowed on others of much inferiour merit. Leo recognised his old friend; and raising him from the ground, and kissing him on each cheek, assured him of the continuance of his favour and protection. The favour of the pontiff extended, however, no further on this occasion, than to grant him a special bull, to secure to him the emoluments to arise from the publication of his celebrated poem. But if the sanguine expectations of the poet were disappointed, his good sense soon convinced him that the blame was not wholly to be imputed to the pope; and whilst he describes, in

Gonzago, on the birth of a child. A letter from Isabella to her brother yet remains, and shows, that at this time Ariosto had made a considerable progress in his great epick poem, some parts of which he read for her amusement. This letter is also deserving of notice as the production of an elegant and accomplished woman, of high rank in Italy.

[o] *v. Ante, vol.* ii. *chap.* ix. *p.* 159.

CHAP. XVI. 1518. Æt. 43. in the most lively manner, the demolition of his hopes, he furnishes, even in the midst of his sarcasms, a sufficient apology for the pontiff. "Some "persons may perhaps observe," says he, in his epistolary satire to Annibale Malaguzzi,[p] "that if "I had gone to Rome in quest of benefices, I might "have caught more than one before this time; "especially as I had long been in favour with the "pope, and had ranked among his ancient friends "before his virtue and his good fortune had exalt- "ed him to his high dignity; or the Florentines "had opened to him their gates; or his brother "Giuliano had taken refuge in the court of Urbino, "where with the author of the *Cortegiano*, with "Bembo, and other favourites of Apollo, he alle- "viated the hardships of his exile. When, too, "the Medici again raised their heads in Florence, "and the Gonfaloniere, flying from his palace, "met with his ruin; and when he went to Rome "to take the name of Leo, he still preserved his "attachment to me. Often whilst he was legate "has he told me, that he should make no difference "between his brother and myself. On this account "it may appear strange to some, that when I paid "him a visit at Rome, he should have humbled "my crest; but to these I shall reply by a story. "Read it, my friend; for to read it is less trouble "to you, than it was to me to write it.

"There

[p] *Arioste, Satire* iii.

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Apologue of Ariosto respecting Leo X.

"There was once a season in which the earth "was so parched up with heat, that it seemed as "if Phœbus had again relinquished the reins to "Phaeton. Every well and every spring was dry. "Brooks and streams, nay even the most celebra- "ted rivers, might he crossed without a bridge. "In these times lived a shepherd, I know not "whether to call him rich, or incumbered, with "herds and flocks, who having long sought for "water in vain, turned his prayers towards that "Being who never deserts those who trust in him; "and by divine favour he was instructed, that at "the bottom of a certain valley, he would find the "welcome aid. He immediately departed with his "wife, his children, and all his cattle; and accord- "ing to his expectations found the spring. The "well was not, however, very deep; and having "only a small vessel to dispense the water, he desi- "red his followers not to take it amiss if he secured "the first draught for himself. The next, says he, "is for my wife, and the third and fourth for my "dear children, till all their thirst be quenched. "The next must be distributed to such of my "friends as have assisted me in opening the well. "He then attends to his cattle, taking care to sup- "ply those first whose death would occasion him "the greatest loss. Under these regulations they "pass on, one after another, to drink. At length "a poor parrot, which was very much beloved by "its master, cried out, Alas! I am neither one of "his relations, nor did I assist in digging the well;

nor

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where he was present at the rejoicings which took place in that city on the elevation of Leo X. He remained there at least six months, and probably a much longer time; attracted by the air and situation of the place, the beauty of the women, and the manners of the inhabitants; and on his departure, celebrated in an exquisite poem, the opportunities of enjoyment which it afforded him, and which it seems were sufficient to banish all anxieties but those of love. On his arrival at Ferrara he again attached himself to the service of the cardinal Ippolito; which, however, did not prevent his finishing the poem on which he had been so long employed, and which he published at Ferrara in the year 1515. If Ariosto was disappointed in the conduct of Leo X. he had much more reason to complain of the illiberality and insensibility of his great patron the cardinal, to whom he has inscribed his work in terms of such high commendation; but who, instead of affording him any recompense for his labours, inquired from him with the indifference of a stupid curiosity, where he had collected together such a number of absurdities.[r] This reproof, which was not counterbalanced

[r] *Dove, diavolo, Messer Lodovico, avete figliate tante coglionerie.* Mazzuchelli has altered, in some degree, the phraseology of the cardinal, who, according to his narrative, inquired from Ariosto, *Donde mai avesse egli trovate tante minchionerie. Scrittori d'Ital.* ii. 1069; but there is reason

balanced by any act of kindness on the part of the cardinal, greatly affected the poet; who in the second edition of his poem, expressed his sense of it by an *Impresa*, or device, in which he has represented a serpent, towards which a hand is stretched out, attempting with a pair of shears to cut off its head, and surrounded by the motto *Pro bono malum*. This device, in which he seems to have alluded to the supposed healing power of the serpent, he exchanged in the next edition, for one which he perhaps thought would be more generally understood, and represented his lost labours by the emblem of a hive of bees, which are destroyed

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reason to believe, that the anecdote is well founded, and that the merits of Ariosto, like those of Milton, and of all others, whose genius has been superiour to the character of the age, were not sufficiently acknowledged in his lifetime. "Così fa il mondo degli huomini; non gli conosce "mai se non quando gli ha perduti. Vedi come stava il "povero Ariosto, uomo excellente; leggi i suoi scritti, e "vedi, se il mondo lo conosceva. Se risuscitasse oggi, "ogni principe lo vorrebbe appresso, ogni persona l'onore-"rebbe." *Doni, la Zucca, p.* 105. *ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d'Ital.* ii. 1069. P. Aretino, in a letter to Dolce relates, that an expression, similar to that made use of by the cardinal, had been applied by one of his servants to the paraphrase of Aretino, of the seven penitential psalms. "Un "mio servitor, sentendo leggere i miei salmi, disse, *mi non "so ù Diavolo il padron si catti tante bagatelle.*" *Note, M. de la Monnoye. Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans.* iv. 48.

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Deprived of his stipend by the cardinal Ippolito d'Este.

In the year 1518, the cardinal Ippolito d'Este, undertook a journey to Hungary, on which he expected to be accompanied by the most eminent persons in his court, and among the rest by Ariosto. The poet was not, however, inclined to make such a sacrifice of his time, of which he well knew the value, or of his health, which was then in a precarious state, to the gratification of a person who appears not to have merited his attachment. By his refusal, however, he not only lost the favour of the cardinal, but incurred his resentment, which he manifested by depriving the poet of the pitiful stipend of twenty-five crowns, which it seems the cardinal allowed him every four months, but which he had not always the good fortune to obtain. This event supplied Ariosto with the subject of his first satire, in which he has treated it with the most severe pleasantry, the most attractive simplicity, and the most inimitable wit; avowing, however, his resolution to maintain the independence both of his person and mind, and to withdraw from the vexations of a court, to the retirement

[a] These emblems have been perpetuated on the reverse of two different medals, representing the effigies of the poet. They are both given in the Museum Mazzuchellianum. *vol.* i. *p.* 209. *tab.* 37.

retirement of private life. He accordingly quitted Ferrara, and took up his residence in his native district of Reggio, attending only to his own studies and amusements; where he remained until the death of the cardinal.

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The loss of his patron seems to have been the commencement of the good fortune of Ariosto. Immediately after that event he was again called to Ferrara by the duke Alfonso, who appears to have been desirous of repairing the neglect of his brother, and who appointed Ariosto to a respectable situation in his court; without, however, requiring from him any attendance which might interfere with his studies. The liberality of the duke soon enabled Ariosto to erect for himself a house in the city of Ferrara, in the front of which he placed an inscription suitable to the modest mansion of a poet, and consistent with the moderation and independence of his own character.[t] In this residence, and

Establishes his residence at Ferrara.

[t] The centre of the *facciata* of the house, has the following inscription:

"PARVA, SED APTA MIHI; SED NULLI OBNOXIA; SED NON
"SORDIDA; PARTA MEO SED TAMEN ÆRE DOMUS."

On the highest part of the front is inscribed,

SIC. DOMUS. HÆC.
AREOSTEA.
PROPITIOS.
DEOS. HABEAT. OLIM. UT.
PINDARICA.

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and in the gardens attached to it, he devoted himself with fresh ardour to his literary pursuits; he composed the additional cantos to his Orlando, and versified his two comedies of the *Cassaria*, and the *Suppositi*, which he had in his youth written in prose. Soon after the death of Leo X. his leisure was, indeed, for a short time interrupted by a mission to the district of Garfagnana, a part of the territory of Ferrara, whither he was sent by the duke, to appease, by his discretion and authority, a tumult among the inhabitants, in which his efforts had the desired success;[u] but the city of Ferrara continued to be his chief residence until the time of his death, which happened on the sixth day of June, 1533, after he had attained the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Of a work so well known, and so universally read, as the *Orlando Furioso*,[v] any observations would

[u] To this mission Ariosto alludes in his fourth satire, in which he laments the interruption which it had occasioned to his studies, and the absence of his mistress. He admits that his employment is both honourable and profitable, but alleges, that he is in the situation of the cock that found a diamond, or of the Venetian nobleman to whom the king of Portugal made a present of an Arabian horse.

[v] For an account of the various editions of this celebrated poem, after its first publication in Ferrara, *per Lodovico Mazziocco*, in 1515. 4°. I must refer to the bibliographers and

would now be superfluous.[w] Like most of the eminent scholars of the age, he devoted a portion of his leisure to Latin composition; but although his productions in this language have considerable merit,[x] it is on his writings in his native tongue that his permanent reputation is founded. On taking a general view

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Effects of his writings on the taste of Europe.

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and literary historians of Italy, and particularly to Mazzuchelli, who has particularized no less than sixty-seven editions, down to the year 1753; of which the best is allowed to be that with the designs of Girolamo Porro, Venice, *appresso Francesco di Franceschi*, 1584. 4°.

[w] The *Satire* of Ariosto were not published until after the death of their author, in 1534. This edition is entitled LE SATIRE *di M. Ludovico Ariosto. volgari. In terza rima, di nuovo Stampate, del Mese di Octobre* M.D.XXXIIII. from which it might be inferred, they had before been printed, if it were not known, that this is the frequent phraseology of the printers of this period, and that many instances occur, where it has been used, when the work has never before undergone the press. These satires have been inserted in the lists of books prohibited by the Roman see, but this has not prevented the publication of many subsequent editions, some of which have been printed in Venice at different times, as well separately, as with his lyrick pieces and other works.

[x] The Latin poems of Ariosto, divided into two books, were collected and published by Giov. Batt. Pigna, together with his own poems, and those of Celio Calcagnini, at Venice, *ex Officina Erasmiana*, by Vicentio Valgrisi, in 1553. 8°. Giraldi denominates them, *ingeniosa sed duriuscula*

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view of the poets of this period, we immediately perceive, that Ariosto occupies the first station, and that had it been deprived of the splendour of his talents, a considerable diminution must have been made from the glory of the age. The fertility of his invention, the liveliness of his imagery, the natural ease and felicity of his diction, give a charm to his compositions which arrests the attention, and interests the feelings of the reader in a degree not experienced from the productions of any of his contemporaries. Whilst the other writers of Italy were devoting their talents to the close imitation of Petrarca, and to the mere elegancies of expression, he allowed himself a wider range, and poured forth the ideas of his creative fancy in his own attractive and forcible language. Hence the genius of Ariosto is not presented to us in the fashionable garb of the day, as it was indiscriminately worn by his contemporaries; but in its own natural and becoming dress, which appears equally graceful and appropriate at all times and in all places. By the example of Bembo, the Italians would have written with correctness, and with elegance, but they would have been read only by their own countrymen. The delicate and attenuated sentiment which gives its

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*uscula. De Poet. suor temp. dial.* i. Some of them appear in various collections, and particularly in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.* i. 342.

its faint animation to their writings, is lost when an attempt is made to transfuse it into another language; but the bold and vigorous ideas of Ariosto, bear without injury all change of climate; and his works have contributed more than those of any other author, to diffuse a true poetical spirit throughout Europe.



The applause bestowed upon those whose labours contributed to restore the purity of the Italian tongue, must not, however, be confined to one sex only. At no former period of society had the spirit of literature been so generally diffused; and at no period have its female admirers proved themselves more accomplished proficients or more formidable rivals. Among those who at this time distinguished themselves by their talents, two are conspicuously eminent; not only for their high rank, extraordinary acquirements, and excellent literary productions, but for the unsullied purity of their character, and for all the virtues which add lustre to their sex. These are Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara, and Veronica Gambara, countess of Correggio.[y]

Vittoria

[y] "Fuere penè non viris inferiores duæ illustres princi-
"pes et poëtriæ, Victoria Columna Piscariæ, et Veronica
"Gambara Corrigiensis, quarum utriusque pro sexûs qua-
"litate divina leguntur poemata; quæ eò cupidius a pleris-
"que

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Vittoria Colonna.

Vittoria Colonna was the daughter of the celebrated commander Fabrizio Colonna, grand constable of the kingdom of Naples, by Anna di Montefeltro, the daughter of Federigo, duke of Urbino. She was born about the year 1490, and when only four years of age, was destined to be the future bride of Ferdinando d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, then very little further advanced in life. The extraordinary endowments both of person and of mind with which she was favoured by nature, aided by a diligent and virtuous education, rendered her the object of general admiration, and her hand was repeatedly sought in marriage by several of the independent sovereigns of Italy. Happily, however, the early choice of the parents was confirmed by the mutual attachment of their offspring, and at the age of seventeen, she became the wife of a man, who by his great endowments, unshaken fidelity, and heroick valour, merited such an acquisition. A perfect conformity of temper, and of excellence, was the pledge of their conjugal affection; but the contests which distracted Italy soon called the marquis from his domestick enjoyments, and at the battle of Ravenna, where he had the command of the cavalry, he was dangerously wounded, and led, with the cardinal de' Medici, afterwards

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" que leguntur, quo sunt ab illustribus Matronis compo-
" sita." *Lil. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poet. suor. temp. dial.* ii. *p.* 571.

afterwards Leo X. a prisoner to Milan. Whilst confined in the castle of that place, and prevented by his wounds from bodily exercise, he devoted his hours to study, the result of which appeared in a dialogue *on Love*, addressed to his wife, which has not been preserved to the present times, but which we are assured was replete with good sense, eloquence, and wit.[a] He was at length liberated from his confinement by the friendly interference of the marshal Trivulzio, and by the active part which he afterwards took in the military affairs of the time, and the many engagements in which he was victorious, acquired the highest character among the Italian leaders. Having entered into the service of the emperour, he commanded at the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner; where he distinguished himself no less by his magnanimity and humanity, than by his prudence and intrepidity, to which the success of the Imperialists has usually been

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[a] "Dum esset in arce, vulneraque curaret, nec exercendi corporis ulla daretur facultas, ingenium literis amœnioribus ex doctrina Musephili præceptoris haud mediocriter imbutum, ita exercuit, ut paucis diebus summæ jucunditatis Diologum *de Amore*, ad Victoriam uxorem conscripserit, qui libellus adhuc extat, cum gravibus tum exquisitis salibus atque sententiis, ad admirationem ejus ingenii refertus." *Jovius in vitâ Ferdin. Daval. Pisc. lib.* i.

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been attributed.[a] This event he did not, however, long survive, having fallen a sacrifice to his military fatigues, and the consequences of his wounds. He died at Milan, in the month of December, 1525, after a short but glorious life, which has afforded ample materials for the historian.[b] This fatal event blighted all the hopes of his consort; nor did her sorrow admit of any alleviation, except such as she found in celebrating the character and the virtues of her husband, and recording their mutual affection in her tender and exquisite verse. Soon after his death she retired to the island of Ischia, refusing to listen to those proposals of other nuptials, which, as she had no offspring, her friends were desirous that she should accept. In her retirement she appears to have acquired a strong religious cast of character, which did not, however, prevent her from exercising her poetical talents, although she from this time devoted them chiefly to sacred subjects. Her exemplary conduct, and the uncommon merit of her writings, rendered her the general theme of applause among the most distinguished

[a] His generosity and attention to the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, who fell in an engagement, at Biagrassa, in the year 1524, is recorded by Dr. Robertson, in his life of Charles V. *book* iii. ii. 203.

[b] Jovius has written the life of this distinguished commander, in seven books, which comprise the history of the principal military events of the time.

distinguished poets and learned men of the time, with many of whom she maintained a friendly epistolary intercourse.[c] She was also a warm admirer of the great artist Michel-Agnolo, who executed for her several excellent pieces of sculpture,[d] and appears to have enjoyed her favour and friendship in an eminent degree; she having on several occasions quitted her residence at Viterbo, to which place she retired some years before her death, and made excursions to Rome for no other purpose than that of enjoying his society. This affectionate attachment, equally honourable to both parties, was at other times supported by an epistolary intercourse. To her Michel-Agnolo has



[c] Among these were Beazzano, Flaminio, Molza, the cardinals Contarini, Bembo, and Pole; most of whom have celebrated her in their writings.

[d] One of these pieces represents Christ just taken from the cross, and sinking on the knees of his mother. This work has frequently been copied in paintings, which are erroneously supposed to be the production of Michel-Agnolo, and has also been engraved. *Bettari, Note al Vasari. vol.* iii. *p.* 314. *& v. Condivi, vita di M. A. Buonarotti, p.* 53. where this piece is fully described, and where it appears that the artist inscribed on the cross the following line.

*Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa.*

He also designed for her a figure of Christ on the cross, and another of Christ at the well, with the woman of Samaria, which has also been engraved. *Vasari, ut sup.*

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has also addressed several of his sonnets, which yet remain, and in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered by the most profound respect for her character. It is a singular anecdote, preserved by Condivi, that this eminent man paid her a visit in the last moments of her life; and that he afterwards expressed his extreme regret, that he had not, on that occasion, kissed her face, or her forehead, as well as her hand. After having lived until the year 1547, she terminated her days at Rome; not having taken upon her any religious profession, and not indeed without having given rise to some suspicion, that she was inclined to the doctrines of the reformed church. [e]

Among the Italian writers who have revived in their works the style of Petrarca, Vittoria Colonna is entitled to the first rank; and her sonnets, many of which are addressed to the shade of her departed husband, or relate to the state of her own mind,

[e] In one of the poems of Michel-Agnolo, addressed to the Marchesana, he laments the fluctuating state of his religious sentiments, and calls upon her to direct him in his spiritual concerns. *Rime del Buonarotti. p.* 69. *Ed. Firen.* 1726, 8°.

He also wrote a sonnet on her death, which manifests the sorrow which he felt on that occasion, and the sacred affection with which he regarded her memory. *Rime. p.* 70.

mind, possess more vigour of thought, vivacity of colouring, and natural pathos, than are generally to be found among the disciples of that school.[f] Her *Canzone*, or monody, to the memory of her husband, is, however, more deservedly celebrated, and is certainly in no respect inferiour to that of Bembo on the death of his brother Carlo;[g] but perhaps the most favourable specimen of her talents appears in her *Stanze*, or verses in *ottava rima*,[h] which in simplicity, harmony, and elegance of

CHAP. XVI. 1518. Æt. 43. Her writings.

[f] Of the poems of Vittoria Colonna, four editions were printed in her life time. They were first collected by Filippo Pirogallo, and published, without her knowledge, at Parma, in 1538, reprinted in 1539, without note of place or printer; and again, at Florence, in the last mentioned year, with the addition of sixteen spiritual sonnets. The fourth edition is that of Venice, 1544, with the addition of twenty-four spiritual sonnets, and her celebrated *Stanze*. They were also republished after her death, particularly by Lodovico Dolce, in 1552, at Venice; and again at the same place, by Girolamo Ruscelli, with the exposition or commentary of Rinaldo Corso, in 1558. Her *Pianto sopra la passione di Cristo*, with other sacred poems, were also printed at Bologna, *per Antonio Manuzio*, 1557, and at Venice, *presso i figliuoli d'Aldo. in* 1561. *v. Zeno, Note al Fontanini. Bib. Ital.* ii. 95.

[g] This piece has lately been published by Mr. Mathias, in his *Poeti Lirici d'Italia. v.* i. *p.* 144.

[h] This piece was probably addressed to Filiberta of Savoy, the wife of Giuliano de' Medici, and seems to have been

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of style, equal the productions of any of her contemporaries, and in lively description and genuine poetry, excel them all; excepting only those of the inimitable Ariosto.

Veronica Gambara.

Veronica Gambara was the daughter of the count Gian-Francesco Gambara, by his wife Alda Pia of Carpi, and was married in 1509, to Giberto X. lord of Correggio, whom she survived many years, devoting herself to the education of her two sons, Ippolito and Girolamo, the latter of whom obtained the dignity of a cardinal of the Roman church. Her natural disposition, the course of her education, and above all perhaps the instructions and advice of Pietro Bembo, led her in her youth to devote a part of her leisure to the cultivation of her poetical talents, which through all the vicissitudes of her future life, was her occasional amusement.[i] In the year 1528, she left Correggio to reside at Bologna, with her brother Uberto, on whom Clement VII. had conferred the office of governour of that city. Here she established in her house a kind of academy, which was frequented by Bembo, Molza, Mauro, Capello, and other

been written in the early part of the life of its illustrious author, during the pontificate of Leo X. although not inserted in the first editions of her works.

[i] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vii. iii. 47.

other eminent men who then resided at the Roman court. She afterwards returned to Corregio, where she had the honour of receiving as her guest the emperour Charles V. Her life was prolonged until the year 1550. Her writings, which had been dispersed in various collections of the time, were corrected and published at Brescia, in 1759, and although inferiour in elegance and polish to those of Vittoria Colonna, display a peculiar originality and vivacity, both in sentiment and language, which raise them far above those insipid effusions, which under the name of Sonnets, at this time inundated Italy.[j] The mutual esteem and admiration that subsisted between these accomplished women, is recorded in their writings. Their example excited the emulation of many competitors among their own sex, and the *Rimatrici* of the sixteenth century may be considered as little inferiour, either in number, or in merit, to the *Rimatori*. Of these, some of the most distinguished are, Costanza d'Avalos, dutchess of Amalfi,[k] a few of

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Costanza d'Avalos.

[j] Her life was written by Rinaldo Corso, and published at Ancona, in 1556. A more full account of her is given by the Dott. Baldassare Camillo Zamboni, prefixed to her works, edited by him in 1759, to which edition he has added her letters, which, we are informed, are highly estimable, for the natural and easy elegance of their style. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 48.

[k] Daughter of Innico d'Avalos, marquis del Vasto.

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of whose sonnets, of no inferiour merit, are united to the works of Vittoria Colonna, in the edition of Sessa, 1558. Tullia d'Aragona, the illegitimate offspring of Pietro Tagliavia, a cardinal of the church, and himself an illegitimate descendant of the royal house of Aragon.[1] Laura Terracina, a Neapolitan

Tullia d'Aragona.

[1] The offspring of love, Tullia, is said not to have been insensible to his dictates. Her attractions, both of person and mind, are celebrated by the most distinguished wits and scholars of the time, almost all of whom were proud to enrol themselves among her admirers. The principal work of Tullia is her poem in *ottava rima*, entitled *Il Meschino, detto Guerino*, in twenty-six cantos, printed at Venice, in 1560, quarto; which is said by Crescimbeni, *vol.* i. *p.* 341, to rival the Odyssey in the disposition of its parts; but other criticks have formed a different judgment. Her dialogue, *dell' Infinità d' Amore*, was printed at Venice, in 1547. Among her admirers who have addressed her in their verses, we find the cardinal Ippolito, son of Giuliano de' Medici, Francesco-Maria Molza, Ercole Bentivoglio, Filippo Strozzi, Alessandro Arrighi, Lattanzio Benucci, and Benedetto Varchi; but the person who adored her beyond all the rest, and who has dedicated a great part of his compositions to her praise, was the celebrated Girolamo Muzio. Her poems were published at Venice, *presso il Giolito*, 1547, and have frequently been reprinted, accompanied with at least an equal number of sonnets and other poems, in her praise. Among these compositions, one of the sonnets of the cardinal de' Medici is deserving of particular approbation; but her own pieces are seldom inferiour in spirit and elegance to those of her numerous panegyrists.

Neapolitan lady, whose numerous poetical works have frequently been printed,[m] Gaspara Stampa of Padua, ranked among the best poets of her time,[n] and

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[m] At Venice 1548, 1549, 1550, and 1554, and again corrected by Domenichi, in 1560. Among the friends and patrons to whom they are addressed, we find Ercole Bentivoglio, Luigi Tansillo, Lodovico Domenichi, Bernardino Rota, and Vittoria Colonna; some of whom have honoured her in return with their commendations. In the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, of Boccalini, *Cent.* ii. *Ragg.* 35, is a satirical relation of the supposed marriage of Laura Terracina, with the poet Francesco Mauro, who, soon after his marriage, became jealous of his wife, on account of a *garter* which she wore, studded with jewels; which she had received as a present from Edward VI. of England, *in return for her devotion towards him;* a circumstance which so exasperated Mauro, that he cut the throat of his wife, *with a prohibited verse of six syllables, which he carried at his side.* A great tumult arose in Parnassus, which Apollo allayed by a speech; the object of which seems to be to satirize the order of the garter, and to compare the favours conferred by sovereigns on the subjects of other princes, to the presents given by lovers to other men's wives.

[n] "Una delle più eleganti Rimatrici, che allor vivessero, e degna d' andar del paro co' più illustri Poeti." *Tirab.* vii. iii. 49. Many of her poems are addressed to the count of Collalto, of whom she was passionately enamoured, and whose marriage to another lady, she did not long survive, having died in 1554, about the thirtieth year of her age. Her poems were published by her surviving sister, Cassandra, soon after her death, but were not reprinted till the year 1738; when they were again published

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and Laura Battiferra, of Urbino,[o] represented by her contemporaries as the rival of Sappho, in the elegance of her writings, and much her superiour in the modesty and decorum of her life.

Poesia Bernesca.

To the time of Leo X. is to be referred the perfecting of the jocose Italian satire, which originated in Florence towards the close of the preceding century. The credit of reviving this whimsical style of composition, and rendering it in the highest degree lively and entertaining, is due to the eccentrick genius of Francesco Berni, whence it has been denominated, *La Poesia Bernesca*.[p] In this undertaking he had, however, some coadjutors of no inconsiderable talents, and in particular Francesco Mauro, and Gian-Francesco Bini, whose works have usually been united with his own, to which in vivacity and humour they are little inferiour. The character of Berni was as singular as his writings. He was born at Lamporecchio, a small

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by Antonio Rambaldo di Conti, count of Collalto, a descendant of the nobleman to whom they were so ineffectually addressed by their unfortunate author.

[o] She became the wife of the celebrated Florentine sculptor, Bartolommeo Ammanati. Her works were first published at Florence, *appresso i Giunti*, in 1560. Mazzuchelli and Tiraboschi have collected numerous testimonies of her contemporaries to her merits.

[p] *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, vol.* i. *p.* 289, 294.

small town in the Tuscan state,[q] of a noble, although reduced family, and was sent whilst very young to Florence; where he remained until he had attained his nineteenth year, and where he probably imbibed, from the works of the Pulci, Franco, and Lorenzo de' Medici, the earliest taste for that style of composition, by which he afterwards so greatly distinguished himself. About the year 1517, he repaired to Rome, and entered into the service of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, to whom he was in some degree related, and from whom he entertained hopes of preferment which were not realised. After the death of Bernardo, he attached himself to his nephew the cardinal Angelo da Bibbiena, but with no greater advantage, and was at length obliged to accept the office of secretary to Giammatteo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who then held the important station of datary to the Roman see. Having now taken the ecclesiastical habit, Berni was occasionally employed by Ghiberti, in missions to his more distant benefices, and frequently accompanied the bishop on his journeys through Italy; but the fatigues of business, and the habits of regularity were irksome to him, and he sought for relief in the society of the muses, who generally brought both Bacchus and Venus in their train. Being at length preferred

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[q] Respecting his name and the place of his birth, *v. Menage, Anti-Baillet, par.* i. *sec.* 37.

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ferred to the affluent and easy station of a canon of Florence, he retired to that city, where he was much more distinguished by the eccentricity of his conduct, and the pungency of his satire, than by the regularity of his life. Such was his aversion to a state of servitude, if we may credit the humorous passages in which he has professedly drawn his own character, that he no sooner received a command from his patron, than he felt an invincible reluctance to execute it. He delighted not in musick, dancing, gaming, or hunting; his sole pleasure consisting in having nothing to do, and stretching himself at full length in his bed. His chief exercise was to eat a little, and then compose himself to sleep, and after sleep to eat again. He observed neither days nor almanacks; and his servants were ordered to bring him no news, whether good or bad. These exaggerations, among many others yet more extravagant, may at least be admitted as a proof, that Berni was fond of his ease, and that his writings were rather the amusement of his leisure, than a serious occupation.

The death of Berni is said to have been occasioned by the jealous enmity which subsisted between the duke Alessandro, and the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, each of whom is supposed to have contended with the other, which should first destroy his rival by poison. One of them, if we may believe this story, was desirous of engaging the

the assistance of Berni, and he having refused to join in so detestable a project, fell a victim to the revenge of his patron, by a death of similar treachery. On this it may be sufficient to observe, that the cardinal died in the month of August, 1535, and that Berni survived him at least until the month of July, 1536. We may therefore conclude with certainty, that he was not poisoned by the cardinal, and with scarcely less certainty, that he was not poisoned by Alessandro, for not having concurred in the destruction of a rival, who had then been dead nearly twelve months.[r]

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Character of his writings.

Of the style of composition adopted by Berni and his associates, it is not easy to convey an adequate idea, as its excellence consists rather in the simplicity of the diction, and the sweetness of the Tuscan idiom, than in that sterling wit and vigorous sentiment which bear to be transfused into another language. Of all writers, those whose merit depends on what is called humour, are the most local. That which in one country is received with admiration and delight, may in another be considered as insipid or contemptible. To enjoy these writings in their full extent, some degree of acquaintance is necessary with the manners and peculiarities

[r] *Mazzuchelli Scrittori d' Italia, in art. Berni. v.* iv. *p.* 986.

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culiarities of the inhabitants, even of the lower classes, and perhaps the delicacy and flavour of them can never be fully perceived except by a native. These observations may be applied in different degrees, not only to the works of Berni, Bini, and Mauro, but to the capitoli and satires of Giovanni della Casa, Agnolo Firenzuola, Francesco-Maria Molza, Pietro Nelli, who assumed the name of Andrea da Bergamo, and a long train of other writers, who have signalized themselves in this mode of composition.[s] That these early productions led the way to a similar eccentricity of style in other countries, is not improbable, and perhaps the most characteristick idea of the writings of Berni and his associates, may be obtained by considering them to be in lively and unaffected verse, what the works of Rabelais, of Cervantes, and of Sterne are in prose.

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[s] The *Opere Burlesche* of Berni and others, after some of them had been separately published, were collected by Anton-Francesco Grazzini, called *Il Lasca*, and published by the Giunti at Florence, *vol.* i. 1548, 1550, *vol.* ii. 1555, octavo. They have been frequently reprinted since, but generally in a mutilated and imperfect manner. The most complete and best edition is that of which the first and second volumes, bear the date of London, 1723, and the third, of Florence in the same year. but which were in fact printed at Naples, and this edition is cited as one of the *Testi di lingua*, by the academicians *Della Crusca*.

It is, however, much to be regretted, that a great part of these compositions are remarkable for a degree of indecency and profaneness, which requires all the wit and elegance of the original, and perhaps more sympathy with such subjects, than an untainted mind should feel, to prevent their being read without disapprobation or disgust. It can, therefore, occasion no surprise, that these pieces, many of which have been written by men of high ecclesiastical rank, should have brought some degree of disgrace upon the Roman church. One of the productions, in this style of writing, of Giovanni della Casa, archbishop of Benevento, and for some time inquisitor at Venice, has been singled out as a particular instance of depravity, but many examples, at least equally flagrant, might have been produced. Even the writings of Berni contain passages, and indeed, whole pieces, not less gross and licentious than the work which has given rise to so much reprehension. [t]

That

[t] The work alluded to of Giovanni della Casa, is his *Capitolo del Forno*, published with his *terze rime*, in the *Opere Burlesche* of Berni and others, in three volumes. This piece has given rise to an infinite number of errours and misrepresentations, that have stained the memory of this most accomplished scholar and elegant writer with uncommon odium. From these accusations, he has been defended with great ability by M. Menage, in his *Anti-Baillet*, *par.* ii. *sec.* 119. That he was himself, however, extremely sensible of the reproaches which he had incurred, appears

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That Berni was not, however, so entirely devoted to indolence, as we might, from the character which he has chosen to give of himself, be induced

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appears from his exquisite Latin lines, addressed *Ad Germanos*, in which he has endeavoured to justify himself, by alleging that these obnoxious verses were written in the more thoughtless days of his youth, and that he had compensated for them by the regularity, industry, and continency of his future life and conduct; for which he refers to *Bembo*, *Flaminio*, and his other friends. His example may be a lesson to young writers, to be cautious how they produce,

"One line which dying they would wish to blot."

A caution which is beautifully enforced in his own verses,

"Annis ab hinc triginta et amplius, scio
"Nonnulla me fortasse non castissimis
"Lusisse versibus; quod ætas tunc mea
"Rerum me adegit inscia, et semper jocis
"Licentiùs gavisa, concessu omnium,
"Juventa; quod fecêre et alii item boni.
"At nunc abit juventa, lusus permanet;
"Et carmini illi nomen adscribunt meum
"Idem quod ante erat, nec adscribunt diem
"Eamdem, erat quæ quando id olim lusimus;
"Sed quod puer peccavit, accusant senem."

The works of Casa were collected and published in five volumes quarto, *Venice* 1728. Both his verse and prose may be esteemed among the purest models of the Italian tongue.

induced to believe, may sufficiently appear from his numerous writings, and particularly from his having reformed and new-modelled the extensive poem of *Orlando Innamorato*, of the count Bojardo. This work he is said to have undertaken in competition with the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto, which has given occasion to accuse Berni of presumption and of ignorance; but Berni was too well acquainted with the nature of his own talents, which involuntarily led him towards the burlesque and the ridiculous, to suppose, that in serious composition, he could emulate that great man. He has, however, both in this and other parts of his writings, shown that he could occasionally elevate his style, and the introductory verses to each canto of the *Orlando Innamorato*, which are generally his own composition, are not the least admired, nor the least valuable parts of his work. That the alterations of Berni raised the poem of Bojardo into more general notice, may be conjectured from the various editions of the reformed work which issued from the press soon after its first appearance, and which are yet sought after with avidity. [u] The task

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[u] The first of these editions is that of the Giunti, in 1541, quarto. It was also published at Milan, *nelle case d' Andrea Calvo*, 1542, quarto, with the privilege of the pope and the state of Venice; and again at Venice, in 1546, *con la Giunta di molte stanze*, which are, however, of

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task which Berni thus completed, was also undertaken by several of his contemporaries, and in particular by Teofilo Folengi, and Lodovico Dolce; but not any of them brought their labours to a termination. It appears, also, that Pietro Aretino had formed an intention of devoting himself to this task, which, however, he afterwards relinquished; and if we may be allowed to judge from the specimen given of his epick talents, in his poem of *Marfisa*, the world has sustained no loss by his determination.

Teofilo Folengi.

Yet more extravagant than the writings of Berni, are those of his contemporary Teofilo Folengi, of Mantua, better known by his assumed name of *Merlino Coccajo*. He was also an ecclesiastick, having, in the year 1507, when only sixteen years of age, entered into the order of Benedictines, on which occasion he relinquished his baptismal name of *Girolamo*, and took that of *Teofilo*.[v] His religious vows

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of little importance. Another edition is said to have been published at Venice, per *Girolamo Scotto*, in 1548. *Quadrio.* iv. 554. *Mazzuchelli*, iv. 992, but this I conceive to be the *Orlando Innamorato*, as reformed by Lodovico Dominichi; at least, a copy of the latter work by the same printer, and in the same year, is in my possession. The more modern edition, with the date of Florence, 1725, but in fact, printed at Naples, is considered as the most correct.

[v] *Tiraboschi. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. i. 302.

vows did not, however, extinguish his amorous passions, and a violent attachment which he soon afterwards formed for a young lady, named Girolama Dieda, induced him to desert his monastery. After passing, for several years, an irregular, and wandering life, he published his macaronick poems, in which, by a singular mixture of the Latin and Italian, with the various dialects of the populace, and by applying the forms of one language to the phrases of another, he has produced a kind of mongrel tongue which, from its singularity and capricious variety, has attracted both admirers and imitators.[w] How it was possible for a person possessed

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His macaronick poems and other works.

[w] Tiraboschi informs us that the first edition is that of Venice, in 1519, but Fontanini and Zeno have cited an edition containing his eclogues, and the first seventeen books of his poem of Baldo, printed at Venice in 1517, 8vo. They were afterwards reprinted at Venice, in 1520; and by Alexander Pagnanini, TUSCULANI APUD LACUM BENACENSEM, in 1521, ornamented with grotesque prints from blocks of wood, with the following title:

OPUS MERLINI COCAII *Poetæ Mantuani Macaronicorum, totum in pristinam formam per me Magistrum Acquarium Lodolam optime redactum, in his infra notatis titulis divisum.*

ZANITONELLA. *quæ de amore Tonelli erga Zaninam tractat. Quæ constat ex tredecim Sonolegiis, septem Ecclogis, et una Strambottolegia.*

PHANTASIÆ *Macaronicon, divisum in vigintiquinque Macaro-*

CHAP. XVI. 1518. Æt. 43. sessed of the talents and learning by which Folengi was undoubtedly distinguished, to sacrifice to these compositions such a portion of time as they must from their number and prolixity have required, it is not easy to conceive, and certainly a much smaller specimen might have satisfied the curiosity of

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*Macaronicis, tractans de gestis magnanimi et prudentissimi Baldi.*

MOSCHÆÆ, *Facetus liber in tribus partibus divisus, et tractans de cruento certamine Muscarum et Formicarum.*

LIBELLUS *Epistolarum, et Epigrammatum ad varias personas directarum.*

HEXASTICON *Joannis Baricocolæ.*

*Merdiloqui putredo Scardaffi stercore nuper*
*Omnibus in bandis imboazata fui.*
*Me tamen Acquarii Lodolæ sguratio lavit,*
*Sum quoque savono facta galanta suo.*
*Ergo me populi comprantes solvite bursas.*
*Si quis avaritiâ non emit, ille miser.*

Folengi afterwards reformed and altered this work, for the purpose of correcting its satirical tendency, and a new edition was printed without note of year, place, or printer; but which was printed at Venice, in 1530. The edition of 1521 is, however, considered as the best, and has been the usual model of those since reprinted, particularly that of Venice, *apud Joannem Variscum et Socios*, 1573. A splendid edition of the *Macaronicks* of Folengi, in two vols. 4to. was published at Mantua, in 1768 and 1771, with the life of the author, by Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda.

of most of his readers. It has, indeed, been said, that it was his first intention to compose an epick poem in Latin, which should far surpass the Eneid; but finding, from the decision of his friends, that he had scarcely rivalled the Roman bard, he committed his poem to the flames, and began to amuse himself with these extravagant compositions; some of which, however, occasionally display such a vivacity of imagery and description, and contain passages of so much poetical merit, that if he had devoted himself to more serious compositions, he might probably have ranked with the first Latin poets of the age. In the year 1526, Folengi, under the name of *Limerno Pitocco*, published in Italian his burlesque epick poem of *Orlandino;* a work which discovers still more evidently the vigour of his imagination, and the facility and graces of his composition; and which, not being written in the grotesque and motley style of his former productions, may be perused with considerable pleasure.[z] It must, however, be remarked, that both

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[z] This poem, divided into eight cantos, has been several times reprinted, after the first edition of the *Sabbii*, in Venice, 1526, particularly by Gregorio de' Gregori, at the same place, and in the same year: in Rimini by Soncino, 1527, (Ed. castrata) in Venice, by Sessa, 1530, and 1539, and at the same place by Bindoni, in 1550; which last edition has been counterfeited by an impression of the same date, of much inferiour execution. At the close, is an apologetical address from the author, in which he has atempted

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both this poem and his *Macaronicks*, abound with obscene passages; a peculiarity which seems in these times to have distinguished the productions of the ecclesiasticks from those of the laity. Repenting of his errours, or wearied with his disorderly canduct, Folengi soon afterwards returned to his cell, where his first occupation was to write an account of the aberrations and vicissitudes of his past life, which he printed under the title of *Chaos de tri per uno*, and which is yet more capricious and extravagant than his former writings.[y] As the fire of his fancy, or the ardour of his passions decreased, he turned his talents to religious subjects, and composed a poem, *Dell' Umanità del figliuolo di Dio*, which has probably attracted much fewer readers than his former works.[z] Having been appointed

attempted to vindicate himself from the charge of impiety, in having satirized the clergy under the character of *Monsignore Griffarosto*; and, what was much more dangerous, in having shown a partiality to the cause of the reformers. *v. Zeno annot. al Fontan.* i. 303.

[y] His *Tripheruno*, is intended to exhibit the three different periods of the life of its author, and was first printed at Venice, in 1527, and again in 1546.

[z] Printed at Venice, per *Aurelio Pincio*, 1533. This work is divided into ten cantos, in the first of which Homer and Virgil are introduced conversing together in favour of the four christian poets who have written on the humanity of the son of God, who it appears are, *il Folgo*, or Folengi himself,

pointed principal of the small monastery of S. Maria della Ciambra, in the island of Sicily, he there, at the request of Ferrando Gonzaga the viceroy, composed a poem in *terza rima*, divided into two books, and entitled, *La Palermita*, and also three tragedies in verse on sacred subjects,[a] but these pieces have never been printed. Many other works of Folengi are noticed by his editors and biographers. His life was prolonged until the year 1544, when he died at the *Priorato* of Campese, near Bassano, and was buried in the adjacent church of *Santa Croce*.

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Imitations of the ancient classick writers.

Although the study of the ancient languages had long been revived in Italy, yet no idea seems to have been entertained before the time of Leo X. of improving the style of Italian composition, by a closer adherence to the regularity and purity of the Greek and Roman writers. Some efforts had, indeed, been made to transfuse the spirit, or at least the sense of these productions, into the Italian tongue.

himself, *Sanazzaro*, *Vida*, and *Scipione Capece*. Folengi seems to have imbibed some of the notions of the reformers, which he did not dare more openly to avow; and like David before Achish, to have feigned himself mad, and "scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard."

[a] *La Cecelia*, *La Christina*, *e La Caterina*, *v. Zeno*, *Note al Fontanini*, *vol.* i. *p.* 302.

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tongue. The metamorphoses of Ovid,[b] and the Eneid of the Mantuan bard,[c] has thus been translated into prose; and the Thebaid of Statius,[d] the Pharsalia of Lucan,[e] the Satires of Juvenal,[f] with some detached parts of the writings of Ovid,[g] and of Virgil,[h] had been translated into Italian verse; but

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[b] Translated by Giovanni Buonsignore, supposed as early as the fourteenth century, printed at Venice per *Gio. Rosso.* Ven. 1497. *v. Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol.* iv. *Art.* 2069. *Haym. Bib. Ital.* 118. 13.

[c] *L' Eneida, ridotta in prosa per Atanagio Greco. Vicenza, per Ermanno di Levilapide.* 1476.

[d] *Tebaide di Stazio, in ottava Rima da Erasmo di Valvasone, Ven. ap. Fr. Franceschi.* 1740.

[e] *Lucano la Farsaglia, tradotta dal Cardinale Montichiello. Milano, per Cassano di Mantegazii* 1492. 4to.

[f] *Le Satire di Giuvenale, in terza rima, da Giorgio Sommarifa, in Trevigi.* 1480. *fo.*

[g] *De arte Amandi, in terza rima, Milano, per Filippo di Montegazzi.* 1494. There is also another edition, without date, which is probably the first. *v. Morelli. Bibl. Pinel.* iv. 2071.

[h] *Bucoliche di Virgilio, per Bernardo Pulci, di Latino in vulgare traducte,* printed with some of the Bucolicks of Francesco Arsochi, Hieronymo Benivieni et Jacopo Fiorino de Buoninsegni, *Flor. per Maestro Antonio Mischomini* 1494. *v. Life of Lor. de' Med.* i. 244. I must observe, that Mr. Warton is not correct in asserting, that Virgil's Bucolicks

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but in so rude and unskilful a manner, as to produce, like a bad Mirror, rather a caricature, than a resemblance. As the Italian scholars became more intimately acquainted with the works of the ancients, they began to feel the influence of their taste, and to imbibe some portion of their spirit. No longer satisfied with the humble and laborious task of translating these authors, they with a laudable emulation, endeavoured to rival the boasted remains of ancient genius by productions of a similar kind in their native tongue. In order to attain an equality with their great models, they ventured also to discard the shackles of rhyme, and to introduce a kind of measure which should depend for its effect on the elevation and harmony of its language, and on the variety of its pauses, rather than on the continual recurrence of similar sounds. The person who is entitled to the chief credit of having formed, and in some degree executed, this commendable design, is the learned Gian-Giorgio Trissino; Trissino.

Bucolicks were translated into Italian by Bernardo Pulci, Fossa de Cremona, Benivieni, et Fiorini Buoninsegni. *Hist. of Eng. Poetry.* ii. 256. The only translators of Virgil, being Bernardo Pulci, and Evangelista Fossa; and the Bucolicks of Benivieni and Buoninsegni, being original compositions. The translation of Fossa is entitled BUCHOLICA VULGARE DE VIRGILIO *Composta per el Clarissimo Poeta Frati Evangelista Fossa de Cremona, del ordine di Servi.* MCCCCLXXXXIV. *in Venetia.* The translation is in *terza rima*, but extremely rude and incorrect.

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[b] Translated by Giovanni Buonsignore, supposed as early as the fourteenth century, printed at Venice per *Gio. Rosso.* Ven. 1497. *v. Morelli. Bib. Pinel. vol.* iv. *Art.* 2069. *Haym. Bib. Ital.* 118. 13.

[c] *L' Encida, ridotta in prosa per Atanagio Greco. Vicenza, per Ermanno di Levilapide.* 1476.

[d] *Tebaide di Stazio, in ottava Rima da Erasmo di Valvasone, Ven. ap. Fr. Franceschi.* 1740.

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Trissino; and although his powers as a poet were inadequate to the task which he had imposed upon them, yet the chaste and classical style which was thus introduced, has given rise to some of the most correct and pleasing productions in the Italian tongue.

Trissino was born of a noble family at Vicenza, in the year 1478, and for some time received instructions from the celebrated Greek, Demetrius Chalcondyles, at Milan.[i] On the death of his wife, of whom he was early in life deprived, he repaired to Rome, where he obtained the particular favour of Leo X. who employed him on several important missions; and in particular, to the emperour Maximilian.[j] The *versi sciolti*, or blank verse of the Italian language, was first employed by Trissino, in his tragedy of *Sofonisba;* and is certainly much better calculated than either the *terza rima*, or the *ottava stanza*, to works of length. The same mode of versification was, however, employed about the same time by several men of considerable talents, and

Introduces the *versi sciolti*, or Italian blank verse.

[i] With a laudable gratitude, Trissino erected in the church of *S. Maria della passione* at Milan, an elegant monument to the memory of his instructer, who died at that city in the year 1511. *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vi. ii. 132. *Ed.* 1776.

[j] *Trissino, in Dedicaz. di sua Italia liberata, al Imperat. Carlo V.*

and an eminent Italian critick has asserted, that "it was first used by Luigi Alamanni, in his translation from Catullus of the epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis; afterwards by Lodovico Martelli, in translating the fourth book of the Eneid, and by the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in translating the second; in imitation of whom, Trissino afterwards composed, in the same measure, his epick poem of *Italia liberata da' Goti.*"[k] But it must be observed, that the *Italia liberata* was not the first work in which Trissino had employed the *versi sciolti*, his tragedy of *Sofonisba* having been written at least ten years before he began his epick poem, and completed in the year 1515.[l] It is, however, certain, that in the same year, Giovanni Rucellai wrote, in blank verse, his tragedy of *Rosmunda;* but as he has himself addressed Trissino



[k] *Lettere de Claudio Tolomei, citate nelle Giorn. di Letterati. vol.* xxvi. *p.* 290.

[l] It appears from a letter of Giovanni Rucellai to Trissino, dated the 8th day of November, 1515, that Trissino had then completed his tragedy, which was intended to be represented before Leo X probably on the occasion of his visit to Florence in that year. *v. Zeno, Note al Fontanini, Bib. Ital.* i. 464. It was not, however, printed until the year 1524, when it was published in Rome, *per Lodovico degli Arrighi Vicentino;* with a dedication which had been addressed by the author to Leo X. in the life time of that pontiff.

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Trissino as his literary preceptor, and as the pretensions of Trissino to the precedency in this respect are confirmed by the explicit acknowledgment of Palla Rucellai, the brother of Giovanni, we may with confidence attribute to Trissino the honour of the invention; unless the pretensions of the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, who gave a specimen of blank verse, in the prologue to his comedy entitled *L'Amicizia*, supposed to be represented before the magistrates of Florence, about the year 1494, may be thought to invalidate his claim.[m] The tragedy of *Sonfonisba* is, however, entitled to notice, not only as having first introduced the *versi sciolti* into general use, but as being the first regular tragedy which made its appearance after the revival of letters. The appellation of tragedy had indeed been already adopted, and even the story of Sophonisba had been the subject of a dramatick performance, in *ottava rima*, by Galeotto, marquis of Carretto, and presented by him to Isabella, marchioness of Mantua;[n] but this

[m] This question has given rise to great diversity of opinion between Monsignore Fontanini, and his severe commentator Apostolo Zeno; which the reader will find in the *Bibl. dell' Eloq. Italiana*, *vol.* i. *p.* 384. *et seq.* It has also been discussed by Mr. Walker, in the Appendix to his *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, No. ii. *p.* 20.

[n] *Maffei, Teatro Italiano. vol.* i. *in prefaz. alla Sofonisba di Trissino.*

this piece, like the *Virginia* of Accolti, and other productions of a similar nature, was so imperfect in its arrangement, and so ill adapted to theatrical representation, that it rather increases than diminishes the honour due to Trissino, who, disregarding the example of his contemporaries, introduced a more correct and classical style of dramatick composition.° The affecting story of this tragedy, founded on the relation of Livy, in the thirtieth book of his history, is already well known, having been frequently the subject of theatrical representation in this country. It may, therefore, be sufficient to observe, that Trissino, without greatly deviating from the records of history, has given a dramatick form to the incidents, which renders his production not uninteresting, and has interspersed it with some passages of expression and pathos. At the same time, it must be acknowledged, that the dignity of the tragick style is not always equally supported, and that the author frequently displays a prolixity, languor, and insipidity, both of sentiment and of style, which greatly detract from the interest of the piece.

It

° On this account, Giraldi, in the prologue to his *Orbecche*, denominates him

" Il *Trissino* gentil, che col suo canto
" Prima d' ognun, dal Tebro, e dall' Ilysso,
" Già trasse la Tragedia a l'onde d' Arno."

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His *Italia liberata da' Goti.*

It was not, however, until the year 1547, that Trissino published the nine first books of his epick poem of *Italia liberata da' Goti;* of which the additional eighteen books made their appearance in 1548.[p] In this poem, to the completion of which the author had dedicated upwards of twenty years, he proposed to exhibit to his countrymen a specimen of the true epick, as founded on the example of Homer, and confirmed by the authority of Aristotle. The subject is the liberation of Italy from the Goths by Belisarius, as general of the emperour Justinian. In the execution of it, Trissino asserts, that he had examined all the Greek and Roman writers, for the purpose of selecting the flowers of their eloquence to enrich his own labours. That Trissino was a man of talents

[p] This poem, like the second edition of the *Sofonisba*, in 1529, was printed with the occasional introduction of Greek letters, for determining, with greater precision, the Italian pronunciation; the invention of which is due to Trissino, although his authority has failed of introducing it into general use. He dedicated it to the emperour Charles V. in an address which explains the motives of his attempt, and elucidates some circumstances in his own life. Several passages in this poem gave great offence, the author having severely censured the conduct of some of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of which they were cancelled by him in the copies remaining unsold; a circumstance which has given rise to much discussion among the Italian bibliographers. *v. Fontanini, B.b. Ital.* i. 268, *&c.*

talents and of learning, is evident from his other writings, and his various acquirements in mathematicks, physicks, and architecture, are highly celebrated by his contemporaries, yet of all the attempts at epick poetry which have hitherto appeared, the *Italia liberata* may be considered as the most insipid and uninteresting. In Berni, Mauro, Folengi, and other writers of burlesque poetry, their simplicity or vulgarity is evidently assumed, for the avowed purpose of giving a greater zest to their satire or their wit, but the low and pedestrian style of Trissino is genuine and unaffected, and is often rendered still more striking by the unconscious gravity of the author.[q] Yet more reprehensible is the plan and conduct of the poem, in which the heathen mythology is confounded with the Christian religion, and an invocation to Apollo and the muses, introduces the Supreme Being as interfering in the concerns of mortals, in such language, and by such means, as must, in the estimation of either true piety or correct taste, appear wholly unworthy of the divine character. Hence neither the industry of Trissino, nor the high literary character which he had before

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q Should the reader entertain any doubts of this assertion, he may peruse the description of the amorous interview in the third book, between the emperour and the empress; which, however, he may rest assured, is not likely to inflame his passions.

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before attained, could raise into credit his unfortunate poem, which, as one of his contemporaries informs us, was never read, but seemed to have been buried on the same day that it first saw the light. About the year 1700, a feeble attempt was made, by the associates of the academy of cardinal Ottoboni at Rome, to transpose the *Italia liberata* into *ottava rima*, each member selecting a separate book for the exercise of his talents, but although some of them performed their task, the work was never completed. The criticks of Italy, unwilling to detract from the character of a man, whose merits have in other respects done honour to their country, have, however, seldom mentioned the *Italia liberata*, but in terms of respect; although it never was reprinted until the year 1729, when it was inserted in the general collection of the works of its author.

Giovanni Rucellai.

Subsequent to Trissino in the adoption of the *versi sciolti*, but more successful in the manner in which he employed it, was his friend Giovanni Rucellai, whose near consanguinity to the pontiff Leo X. as well as his own extraordinary merits, entitle him to particular notice. He was one of the four sons of Bernardo Rucellai, by his wife Nannina, sister of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and was born at Florence, in the year 1475.[r] The example

[r] *de' Letterati*, 33. *par.* i. 240.

example of his father, who is justly ranked among the most eminent scholars, and correct Latin writers of his time, and the instructions of the celebrated Francesco Cataneo da Diaceto, were a sure pledge of his early proficiency; and it has been said of him with undoubted truth, that he was highly accomplished, as well in the Greek and Latin languages, as in his own.[s] In the year 1505, he was sent as ambassadour from his native city to the state of Venice, and was present when the envoy of Louis XII. required that the senate would permit the learned civiiian Filippo Decio, to return as his subject to Pavia, to teach the canon law, with which the senate refused to comply; an incident which it seems made a great impression on Rucellai, as being a proof of the value of literature, and the great importance of a man of talents.[t] In the tumult raised by the younger citizens of Florence on the return of the Medici, in the year 1512, and which contributed so greatly to facilitate that event, Giovanni Rucellai, and his brother Palla, took a principal part; in which they appear to have acted in opposition to the wishes of their father, who was a firm adherent to the popular cause.

[s] "TRIPLICI LINGUA elegantissime excultus." *Poccianti, Catal. de' Scrittori Fiorentini. ap. Giorn. de' Letterati, ut sup.*

[t] *Giornale de' Letterati* xxxiii. *par.* i. *p.* 244.

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cause.[a] On the elevation of Leo X. and the appointment of his nephew Lorenzo to the government of Florence, Giovanni remained at that city in a respectable employment, and is supposed to have accompanied Lorenzo to Rome, when he went to assume the insignia of captain-general of the church. Soon after his arrival, Rucellai entered into the ecclesiastical order, and attended the pontiff on his visit to Florence, at the close of the year 1515, when Leo was entertained, in the gardens of the Rucellai, with the representation or recital of the tragedy of *Rosmunda*, written by Giovanni, in Italian blank verse. It has excited surprise, that Leo did not confer the dignity of the purple on a man so nearly related to him, to whom he was so much attached, and who was in every respect worthy of that honour. Some authors have attributed this circumstance to the timid jealousy of Giuliano de' Medici, who is said to have represented to his brother the danger that might accrue to their family in Florence, from any increase of the credit and authority of the Rucellai, who could number amongst them one hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms; whilst others have supposed, that as Leo did not choose to advance to the rank of cardinal some of his relations as near to him as Rucellai, on account of the opposition

[a] *Giornale de' Letterati* xxxiii. *par.* i. *p.* 245. *et v. ante, chap.* x. *vol.* ii. *p.* 218.

sition which they had shown to his family, he on this account postponed also the nomination of Giovanni; but whatever was the reason of the conduct of the pope, which was probably neither of those before assigned, it is certain, that it arose not from any want of esteem or confidence, as may be inferred from his despatching Rucellai, at a very important crisis, as his legate to Francis I. in which station he succeeded Lodovico Canossa, and continued until the time of the death of the pontiff.

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After this unexpected event, Rucellai returned to Florence; and on the elevation of Adrian VI. the successour of Leo, he was deputed, with five others of the principal citizens, to congratulate the pope on his new dignity. Rucellai, as chief of the embassy, addressed the pontiff in a Latin oration, which is yet preserved. The short pontificate of Adrian, was succeeded by that of Clement VII. to whom Rucellai stood in the same degree of kindred as to Leo X. and who, immediately after his elevation, gave a decisive proof of his regard for Rucellai, by appointing him keeper of the castle of S. Angelo; a dignity which has usually been considered as the proximate step to that of a cardinal, and whence Rucellai is commonly named *Il Castellano.*[v] This honour he did not, however, long

[v] The dialogue of Trissino on the Italian language, entitled

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long enjoy; having terminated his days about the beginning of the year 1526, and before the deplorable sacking of Rome, which soon afterwards occurred.

His didactick poem Le Api.

During the residence of Rucellai at the castle of S. Angelo, he completed his tragedy of *Oreste*, and his beautiful didactick poem *Le Api*; neither of which were, however, during his life time, committed to the press. The reason of this will appear from the words of the author, addressed a short time before his death, to his brother Palla Rucellai.[w] "My *Api*," said he, "have not yet "received my last improvements; which has been "occasioned by my desire to review and correct "this poem in company with our friend Trissino, "when he returns from Venice, where he is now "the legate of our cousin Clement VII. and which "poem I have, as you will see, already destined "and dedicated to him. I therefore entreat, that "when

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entitled *Il Castellano*, is thus named by the author from his friend Rucellai, who is one of the interlocutors, and is therein styled by him "Uomo per dottrina, per bontà, e "per ingegno non inferiore a nessun altro della nostra "età." The strict friendship which subsisted between Trissino and Rucellai, whilst they emulated each other in their works, is, as Maffei has justly observed, highly honourable to the characters of both. *Teatro Ital.* i. 93.

[w] *Maffei, prefazione al Oreste. Teatro Italiano* i. 92.

" when you find a fit opportunity, you will send " him this poem for his perusal and correction; " and if he approve it, that you will have it published, without any testimony but that of his " perfect judgment to its merits. You will likewise take the same method with my *Oreste;* if " he should not think it troublesome to take so " much labour for the sake of one who was so " affectionately attached to him." The poem of the *Api*, was accordingly published in the year 1589, and will secure to its author a high rank among the writers of didactick poetry. Without rendering himself liable to the charge of a servile imitator, he has chosen a subject already ennobled by the genius of Virgil; and has given it new attractions and new graces. His diction is pure without being insipid, and simple without becoming vulgar; and in the course of his work, he has given decisive proofs of his scientifick acquirements, particularly on subjects of natural history.

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His tragedy of *Oreste*.

The injunctions of Giovanni Rucellai, with respect to his tragedy of *Oreste*, were not so punctually complied with; the cause of which is, however, assigned by his brother Palla, in his dedication of the *Api*, to Trissino. " As to the *Oreste*, I " have thought it better to wait awhile, until your " *Belisario*, or to speak more accurately, your " *Italia liberata*, a work of great learning, and a " new Homer in our language, shall be perfected " and brought to light." This tragedy remained in

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in manuscript until nearly two centuries after the death of its author, when it was published by the count Scipione Maffei, in his collection of Italian tragedies. The subject of this piece is similar to that of the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides; but the author has introduced such variations, and ennobled his tragedy with so many grand and theatrical incidents, that it may justly be considered as his own, and not as a mere translation from an ancient author; insomuch that Maffei, who, from his own performances must be admitted to be a perfect judge, considers it as not only superiour to the *Rosmunda* of the same author, but as one of the most beautiful pieces which any author, either ancient or modern, has adapted to theatrical representation.[x]

Luigi Alamanni.

Another Italian writer, who distinguished himself by the elegance and harmony of his blank verse, was Luigi Alamanni; who was born of a noble family at Florence, in the year 1475, and passed the early part of his life in habits of friendship with Bernardo and Cosimo Rucellai, Trissino, and other scholars who had devoted themselves more particularly to the study of classical literature.[y] Of the satires and lyrick poems of Alamanni, several were produced

[x] *Maffei, Teatro Italiano* i. 95.

[y] *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia. in art.* Alamanni.

produced under the pontificate of Leo X. In the year 1516, he married Alessandra Serristori, a lady of great beauty, by whom he had a numerous offspring.[z] The rank and talents of Alamanni, recommended him to the notice and friendship of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who, during the latter part of the pontificate of Leo X. governed on the behalf of that pontiff, the city of Florence. The rigid restrictions imposed by the cardinal on the inhabitants, by which they were, among other marks of subordination, prohibited from carrying arms under severe penalties, excited the indignation, of many of the younger citizens of noble families, who could ill brook the loss of their independence, and among the rest of Alamanni; who, forgetting the friend in the patriot, not only joined in a conspiracy against the cardinal, immediately after the death of Leo X. but is said to have undertaken to assassinate him with his own hand.[a] His associates were Zanobio Buondelmonti, Jacopo da Diaceto, Antonio Brucioli, and several other persons of distinguished talents, who appear to have been desirous of restoring the ancient liberty of the republick, without sufficiently reflecting on the mode by which it was to be accomplished. The designs of the conspirators were, however, discovered,

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[z] *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Italia in art.* Alamanni.

[a] *Varchi, Istor. Fiorentina, lib.* v. *fi.* 108.

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diction. That in each of these departments a considerable number of writers, besides those before mentioned, might be enumerated, will readily be perceived; but the limited object of the present work will be sufficiently obtained, by demonstrating the encouragement which the poets of the time derived from Leo X. and the proficiency made, during his pontificate, in this most popular and pleasing branch of literature. It is to this period that we are to trace back those abundant streams which have now diffused themselves throughout the rest of Europe; and although some of them may be pursued to a still higher fountain, yet it was not until this time that they began to flow in a clear and certain course. The laws of lyrick composition, as prescribed by the example of Sanazzaro, Bembo, Molza, and Vittoria Colonna, have since been adopted by the two Tassos, Tansillo, Costanzo, Celio, Magno, Guidi, Filicaja, and a long train of other writers; who have carried this kind of composition, and particularly the higher species of ode, to a degree of excellence hitherto unattained in any other country. In epick poetry, the great work of Ariosto excited an emulation which, in the course of the sixteenth century, produced an immense number of poems on similar subjects; many of which are of great extent, and some of which, if they have not equalled the *Orlando Furioso* in fertility of invention and variety of description, have excelled it in regularity and classical chastity of design, and have displayed all

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...ry duke of Orleans, af... Catherine de' Medici, ... d her *Maitre d' Hotel;* ...his services enabled him to ... great emolument, and to esta... an honourable situation in France. ... of Alamanni are very numerous;[c] ...st admired production is his didactick *Coltivazione*, written in *versi sciolti*, and ...ed by him to Catherine de' Medici, by a ..., in which he requests her to present it to ...ancis I.[d] This work, which Alamanni completed

His poem entitled *La Coltivazione.*

and laying his hand on the shoulder of the ambassadour, told him with great kindness, that he had no cause to regret the loss of his country, having found such a patron as Francis I. adding, that to a virtuous man every place is his country. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. in art. Alamanni. p.* 253.

[c] The works of Alamanni, consisting of his *Elegies*, *Eclogues*, *Satires*, and *Lyrick pieces*, with his tragedy of *Antigone*, were first printed by Gryphius, at *Lyons*, *vol.* i. 1532. *vol.* ii. 2533, the first volume was also printed by the Giunti at Florence, in 1532, and both volumes were afterwards published at Venice, in 1533, and again in 1542. Notwithstanding these frequent editions, the works of Alamanni were prohibited in the pontificate of Clement VII. both at Florence and Rome, in the latter of which places they were publickly burnt. *v. Mazzuchelli*, i. 256.

[d] Printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, in 1546, in a beautiful edition corrected by the author, and dedicated to

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discovered, and Alamanni was under the necessity of saving himself by flight. After many adventures and vicissitudes, in the course of which he returned to Florence, and took an active part in the commotions that agitated his country, he finally withdrew to France, where he met with a kind and honourable reception from Francis I. who was a great admirer of Italian poetry, and not only conferred on him the order of S. Michael, but employed him in many important missions. [b]

On

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[b] On an embassy from Francis I. to the emperour Charles V. Alamanni gave a singular instance of his talents and promptitude. Having, in his oration before the emperour, frequently mentioned *the Imperial Eagle*, Charles, after having attentively listened till the close of the speech, turned towards the orator, and repeated with a sarcastick emphasis, from one of the poems of Alamanni,

——" L'aquila grifagna,
" Che per più divorar due becchi porta."

Alamanni heard this reproach with perfect composure, and instantly subjoined, " Since these lines are known to your " majesty, I must be allowed to say, that when I wrote " them I wrote as a poet, to whom it is allowed to feign; " but that I now speak as the ambassadour from one great " sovereign to another, whom it would ill become to de- " viate from the truth; they were the production of my " youth; but I now speak with the gravity of age; they " were provoked by my having been banished from my " native place, but I now appear before your majesty de- " vested of all passion." Charles, rising from his seat, and

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On the marriage of Henry duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. with Catherine de' Medici, Alamanni was appointed her *Maitre d' Hotel;* and the reward of his services enabled him to secure to himself great emolument, and to establish his family in an honourable situation in France. The writings of Alamanni are very numerous;[c] but his most admired production is his didactick poem *La Coltivazione*, written in *versi sciolti*, and addressed by him to Catherine de' Medici, by a letter, in which he requests her to present it to Francis I.[d] This work, which Alamanni completed

His poem entitled *La Coltivazione.*

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and laying his hand on the shoulder of the ambassadour, told him with great kindness, that he had no cause to regret the loss of his country, having found such a patron as Francis I. adding, that to a virtuous man every place is his country. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. in art. Alamanni. fi.* 253.

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[d] Printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, in 1546, in a beautiful edition corrected by the author, and dedicated to

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pleted in six books, and which he appears to have undertaken rather in competition with, than in imitation of the Georgicks, is written not only with great elegance and correctness of style, but with a very extensive knowledge of the subject on which he professes to treat, and contains many passages which may bear a comparison with the most celebrated parts of the work of his immortal predecessor. His tragedy of *Antigone*, translated from Sophocles, is also considered by Fontanini as one of the best dramatick pieces in the Italian tongue; but his epick romances of the *Avarchide*,[e] and the *Girone Cortese*,[f] both written in *ottava rima*,

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Francis I. It was again printed in the same year by the Giunti at Florence, and has been since frequently reprinted, particularly in a correct and fine edition in large quarto, by Comino at Padua, in 1718, with the *Api* of Rucellai, and the epigrams of Alamanni, and at Bologna in 1746.

[e] First printed after the death of the author, at Florence. *Nella stamperia di Filippo Giunti*, 1570. 4°. The subject of this poem is the siege of the city of Bourges, the capital of the dutchy of Berri, supposed to be the *Avaricum* of Julius Cæsar. The plan and conduct of it is so closely founded on that of the Iliad, that if we except only the alteration of the names, it appears rather to be a translation than an original work.

[f] *Girone il Cortese*, printed at Paris, *da Rinaldo Calderio e Claudio suo figliuolo*, 4°. and again at Venice, *per Comin da Trino da Monferato*, 1549. This work is little more

*rima*, have not had the good fortune to obtain for their author any considerable share of applause.

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From this brief review of some of the principal Italian poets, who wrote in the pontificate of Leo X. it will not be difficult to perceive, that they may be divided into four distinct classes. I. Such as continued to adopt in their writings, although in different degrees, the rude and imperfect style of composition which was used towards the latter part of the preceding century. II. The admirers of Petrarca, who considered him as the model of a true poetick diction, and closely imitated his manner in their writings. III. Those who, depending on the vigour of their own genius, adopted such a style of composition as they conceived expressed, in the most forcible and explicit manner, the sentiments which they had to communicate. And IV. Those authors who followed the example of the ancients, not only in the manner of treating their subjects, but in the frequent use of the *versi sciolti*, and in the simplicity and purity of their diction.

Classification of Italian writers.

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more than a transposition into Italian *ottava rima*, of a French romance entitled *Gyron Courtois*, which Alamanni undertook at the request of Francis I. a short time before the death of that monarch, as appears from the information of the author himself in his dedication to Henry II. in which he has described the origin and laws of the British knights errant, *or knights of the round Table*.

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diction. That in each of these departments a considerable number of writers, besides those before mentioned, might be enumerated, will readily be perceived; but the limited object of the present work will be sufficiently obtained, by demonstrating the encouragement which the poets of the time derived from Leo X. and the proficiency made, during his pontificate, in this most popular and pleasing branch of literature. It is to this period that we are to trace back those abundant streams which have now diffused themselves throughout the rest of Europe; and although some of them may be pursued to a still higher fountain, yet it was not until this time that they began to flow in a clear and certain course. The laws of lyrick composition, as prescribed by the example of Sanazzaro, Bembo, Molza, and Vittoria Colonna, have since been adopted by the two Tassos, Tansillo, Costanzo, Celio, Magno, Guidi, Filicaja, and a long train of other writers; who have carried this kind of composition, and particularly the higher species of ode, to a degree of excellence hitherto unattained in any other country. In epick poetry, the great work of Ariosto excited an emulation which, in the course of the sixteenth century, produced an immense number of poems on similar subjects; many of which are of great extent, and some of which, if they have not equalled the *Orlando Furioso* in fertility of invention and variety of description, have excelled it in regularity and classical chastity of design, and have displayed all

all those poetical graces, that without surprising, delight the reader. If to the satires of Ariosto we add those of Ercole Bentivolio, who was nearly his contemporary, and which are written on a similar model, we shall be compelled to acknowledge, that neither these, nor the singular productions of Berni, Bini, Mauro, and their associates, have in any degree been rivalled in subsequent times. Nor have the later writers of blank verse, among whom may be enumerated Annibale Caro, Marchetti, and Salvini, greatly improved upon the correct and graceful example displayed in the writings of Rucellai, Alamanni, the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, and frequently in those of Trissino.

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The Italian drama.

With respect to the drama, much, however, remained to be done. Neither the *Sofonisba* of Trissino, nor the *Rosmunda* or *Oreste* of Rucellai, although highly to be commended, when compared with the works which preceded them, and when considered with relation to the times in which they were produced, can be regarded as perfect models of tragedy, adapted to theatrical representation. It must also be observed, that the efforts of the cardinal da Bibbiena, and even of Ariosto, to introduce a better style of comick writing, are rather scholastick attempts to imitate the ancient writers, than examples of that true comedy which represents, by living portraits, the follies, the vices, and the manners of the age. It is only in later times that the dramatick works of Maffei, of Metastasio,

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tastasio, of Alfieri, and of Monti, have effectually removed from their country, the reproach of having been inferiour in this great department of letters, to the rest of Europe. In comedy, the Italians have been yet more negligent; for between the dry and insipid performances of the early writers, and the extravagant, low, and burlesque exhibitions of Goldoni, Chiari, and similar authors of modern comedy, lies a spacious field, in which the genius of a Moliere, a Goldsmith, or a Sheridan, would not fail to discover innumerable objects of pursuit and of amusement.

## CHAP. XVII.

### 1518.

IMPROVEMENT in classical literature—Jacopo Sadoleti—Latin writings of Bembo—Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli—His Chrysopoiea—Latin writings of Sanazzaro—His poem De partu Virginis—Girolamo Vida—His Christiad—His Poeticks—Girolamo Fracastoro—His poem entitled Syphilis—Andrea Navagero—Marc-Antonio Flaminio—His writings—Latin poetry cultivated at Rome—Guido Postumo Silvestri—Giovanni Mozzarello—Latin extemporary Poets—Raffaello Brandolini—Andrea Marone—Camillo Querno and others—Baraballo di Gaeta—Giovanni Gorizio a patron of learning at Rome—The Coryciana—Francesco Arsilli—His Latin poem de Poetis Urbanis.



Improvement in classical literature.

FROM the time of the revival of letters in Italy, the *poesia volgare*, or poetry of the national tongue, had experienced many vicissitudes; having at some periods shone with distinguished lustre, and at others been again obscured by dark and unexpected clouds; but classical learning, and particularly Latin poetry, had made a steady and uniform progress, and

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and in the course of one hundred and fifty years, during which a long succession of eminent scholars, had continually improved upon their predecessors, had at length nearly attained to the highest degree of excellence. The pontificate of Leo X. was destined to give a last impulse to these studies; for if there was any department of literature, the professors of which he regarded with more partiality, and rewarded with greater munificence than those of another, it was undoubtedly that of Latin poetry. Nor had this partiality first manifested itself on his ascending the pontifical throne; whilst he yet held the rank of cardinal, the Italian scholars had been well prepared by his conduct, to judge of the favour and encouragement which they would be likely to experience, if that fortunate event should take place; and we have already seen, that in the very commencement of his pontificate he was saluted by them, as the person destined to restore the honours of literature, and to revive the glories of the Augustan age.[a]

The hopes thus early entertained of the future conduct of the pontiff, had been greatly encouraged by the appointment to the important office of apostolick secretaries, of Bembo and Sadoleti; two men who were distinguished by their proficiency in

[a] *v. Ante. vol.* ii. *chap.* xi. *p.* 279

in almost every branch of polite learning, but who had chiefly acquired their reputation by the superiour elegance of their Latin writings. Jacopo Sadoleti, was a native of Modena, and was born in the year 1477.[b] After having completed his studies at Ferrara, under the directions of Nicolo Leoniceno, and other eminent professors, and made a great proficiency in philosophy, eloquence, and the learned languages, he arrived at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI. where he found in the cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, a kind and munificent patron, and in the learned Scipione Carteromaco, an excellent instructer.[c] Of the literary associations which were afterwards formed in Rome, Sadoleti was a distinguished member, and it is to his recollection of these meetings, in which festivity and learning seem to have been united, that we are indebted for the most particular account that now remains of them, and which we have before had occasion to notice.[d] The ability and diligence of Sadoleti in his official employment, gave such satisfaction to Leo X. that he conferred upon him the bishoprick of Carpentras; the duties of which station Sadoleti fulfilled during his subsequent life, notwith-

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. Jacopo Sadoleti.

[b] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura, Ital.* vii. *par.* i. 273.

*Tiraboschi,* vii. i. 274.

[d] *v. Ante, vol.* ii. *chap.* xi. *p.* 288.

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notwithstanding his higher preferments, in a manner that proved him to have entertained a proper sense of the importance of his trust. Amidst his ecclesiastical duties, and his political occupations, he did not, however, wholly relinquish the exercise of his talents for Latin poetry; and his verses on the group of Laocoon, which had been discovered in the baths of Titus during the pontificate of Julius II. are worthy of that exquisite remnant of ancient art which they are intended to celebrate.[e] It was not, however, until the pontificate of Paul III. in the year 1536, that Sadoleti was honoured with the purple; a dignity which he had long merited, not only by the services which he had rendered to the Roman see in many important embassies, but by the temperate firmness of his character, his elegant and conciliating manners, and, if it can be considered as any recommendation at a time when it was so notoriously dispensed with, by his sincere and unaffected piety. The moderation which he displayed in opposing the reformers, the concessions which he was willing to make to them, and the kindness with which he invited them to return to the bosom of the church, formed a striking contrast to the conduct of the greater

[e] These verses, which obtained for the author no inconsiderable share of reputation as a Latin poet, are printed in the works of Sadoleti, *tom.* iii. *p.* 245. *Ed. Veron.* 1738, 4 *vols.* 4°. and also in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.*

greater part of his ecclesiastical associates, and has led an eminent writer to express his opinion, that if there had been many like Sadoleti, the breach would not have been so widely extended. It was probably from this liberality of sentiment, that in his Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, he incurred the censure of the Roman court; and although the prohibition was, in consequence of his representations, removed by the pope, and the work was with some corrections admitted as canonical, yet this event appears to have occasioned infinite anxiety to its author.[f] His Latin tracts, and particularly his treatise *De liberis instituendis*,

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[f] *Tiraboschi.* vii. i. 278. Erasmus, who was a friend and admirer of Sadoleti, was aware that the publication of his commentary would give rise to some dissatisfaction. After adverting to the epistle of Paul, in a letter to Damiano Goes, he adds, "In eamdem tres libros edidit illud ex-"imium hujus ætatis decus Jacobus Sadoletus, admirabili "sermonis nitore, & copia plane Ciceroniana; nec deest "affectus Episcopo Christiano dignus. Fieri non potest, "quin tale opus a tali viro profectum bonorum omnium "suffragiis approbetur; vereor tamen ne apud complures "ipse phraseos nitor nonnihil hebetet aculeos ad pietatem." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxvii. *Ep.* 38. It appears, also, that Erasmus admonished him to be cautious in publishing his commentary. "De commentariis Jacobi Sadoleti mihi tale "quiddam præsagiebat animus. Admonui illum literis "quantum licuit tantum admonere Præsulem. Insumpsit "in hoc opus immensos labores. Audio nec a Sorbonicis "probari." *Erasm. Ep. lib.* xxx. *Ep.* 72.

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*instituendis*, have been greatly admired. This work is indeed considered by Tiraboschi, as superiour to the many essays and systems of education which have been produced in modern times, when, as he justly observes, it is too common to insult the elder writers as barbarians.[g]

Latin writings of Bembo.

The Latin writings of Pietro Bembo, appear, as well from the nature of the subjects, as the persons to whom they are addressed, to have been chiefly the production of the early part of his life; after which he was induced, by causes which we have before assigned, to devote himself more particularly to the cultivation of his native language;[h] this alteration in his studies is also alluded to in the following lines, prefixed to the general collection of his works;[i]

> Whilst, rivalling the strains that Maro sung,
> Thine hands across the Latian chords were flung,
> Love raptured heard; and bad thee next aspire
> To wake the sweetness of the Tuscan lyre.

Neither

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[g] *Tiraboschi*, vii. i. 277.

[h] *v. Ante, vol.* i. *chap.* ii. *p.* 116.

[i] "Tu quoque Virgilio certabas, Bembe, Latino
"Magnanimum heroum carmine facta canens.
"Audiit, et Musæ captus dulcedine, Thuscos
"Ad citharam versus condere jussit Amor."

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Neither the Italian nor the Latin writings of Bembo have been considered as entitled to the praise of originality. If, in the former, he has manifested a close adherence to Petrarca, he has, in the latter, been thought to have followed, with too servile a step, the track of the ancients, and to have imitated, as well in his verse as his prose writings, the style of Cicero. It may, however, be observed, that this imitation is not so apparent in his Latin poems, as in his Italian sonnets and lyrick productions; and that the former, although not numerous, nor on subjects of importance, possess, in general, more interest and vivacity than the latter.

In briefly noticing the attention paid by Julius II. to the learned men of his time, we have already had occasion to mention the Latin poet Augurelli;[j] but as he lived also during the pontificate of Leo X. and survived that pontiff several years, and as his most considerable work is on a very singular subject, and is inscribed to Leo X. a more particular account of him will be necessary. Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, or Augurello, was born about the year, 1441,[k] of a respectable family in the city of

Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli.

j *Ante, vol.* ii. *chap.* ix. *p.* 21, 188.

k Mazzuchelli fixes his birth about 1454, but the count Rambaldo degli Azzoni Avogari, in his memoirs of Augurelli, published in the sixth volume of the *Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli,*

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. of Rimini, whence he was frequently denominated Giovanni Aurelio da Rimini. His early studies were completed in the celebrated university of Padua, where he made a long residence,[1] and where it is probable, that he first began to give publick instructions in polite literature; he being mentioned by Trissino, in his treatise entitled *Il Castellano*, as the first person who had observed the rules of the Italian language prescribed by Petrarca. Having afterwards the good fortune to obtain the favour and patronage of Nicolo Franco, bishop of Trevigi, he took up his residence with him, at his episcopal see, where he was appointed a canon, and honoured with the freedom of the city, as he had before been with that of Padua. After the death of his patron, he left Trevigi, and passed about fifteen months at Feltre, for the purpose of devoting himself, without interruption, to the study of the Greek language,[m] and at length, fixed his abode

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*d' Opuscoli, p.* 162, has sufficiently shown that this event is to be placed at an earlier period.

[1] It appears, from the following passage in one of his odes, that he remained at Padua twenty years.

"Dulcibus sic dum teneor potentum
"Ipse Musarum studiis, et otii
"Debitus, dudum patriæ duo bis
"Lustra reposcor."
*Carm. lib.* ii. 17. *Ed. Ald.* 1505.

[m] *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d' Ital. in art. Augurelli.*

abode at Venice, where he obtained great reputation as a private instructer, and had the honour of numbering among his pupils, Bembo, Navagero, and others, who afterwards rose to great eminence. Augurelli is represented by Paulo Giovio as the most learned and elegant preceptor of his time. His studies are, however, said to have been interrupted by a violent passion for alchymy, which induced him to consume his hours over a furnace, in the vain expectation of discovering a substance which he supposed would convert the baser metals into gold.[n] The failure of his hopes seems not to have deterred him from pursuing his speculations; but instead of persisting in his chymical operations, he prudently resolved to commit his ideas on this abstruse subject to Latin verse, in which he completed a poem, in three books, which he entitled *Chrysopoeia*, or the art of making gold. This work he dedicated to Leo X. in a few elegant introductory lines, which are well entitled to notice.[o] By this production, Augurelli obtained great credit; and it has been justly said, that his verses contain a richer ore than that which he pretends to teach

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His *Chrysopœia*.

[n] *Jovius ut sup. Mazzuch. art. Augurelli.*

[o] From this introduction, as well as from various passages in the poem itself, it appears, that this work was written in the pontificate of Julius II. during the war of Cambray, and that the address to Leo X. was prefixed to it afterwards, when the author resolved to publish it.

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teach his readers to make.[p] It has also been observed, that he displayed a singular propriety in dedicating his work to Leo X. who stood in need of such a resource to enable him to supply his expenditure, and to repay himself for the immense sums which he disbursed in rewarding men of talents, and in magnificent feasts and spectacles. The compensation which Leo bestowed on Augurelli, was not, however, less appropriate; he having, as it has frequently been related, presented him with a large and handsome, but empty purse, observing, that to a man who could make gold, nothing but a purse was wanting.[q] An eminent modern critick is of opinion, that Augurelli was not serious in his composition of this poem, and that he employed himself in better pursuits than the study of alchymy;[r] but it may be observed in reply,

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[p] "Recte aurum ipse doces fieri, sed rectius aurum
"Efficis auratis tu modo carminibus."
*Dom. Onor. Caramella. ap. Mazzuch. in art. Augurelli.*

[q] "Ego quidem auro te donarem, sed cum tu ejus "efficiendi certam scientiam polliceare, sat erit si habeas "ubi aurum abs te confectum reponas." *Fabron. vita Leon.* x. *p.* 220. *Mazzuch. in art. Augurelli.* This incident is also alluded to in the following lines of Latomus. *ap. Mazzuch. up. sup.*

"Ut quod minus collegit e carbonibus,
"Avidi Leonis eriperet e dentibus."

[r] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vi. *par.* ii. *p.* 231.

reply, that such a poem could only have been written by a person who had paid great attention to the subject, and that the work has been received as canonical by the professors of the mysterious art.[s] Augurelli lived to an advanced age, and at length died suddenly in the year 1524, whilst he was disputing in the shop of a bookseller at Trevigi; in which city he was buried, and where an epitaph written by himself was inscribed on his tomb.[t]



Besides

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231. *Ed. Modena*, 1776. Where he observes, that Augurelli himself professes in his poem to write in jest, and to make no account of this pretended art. If, however, we except a few lines at the end, the whole piece appears to have been very seriously written; and even in these he professes to have mingled the lessons of wisdom with the festivity of wit,

"——— doctos salibus sermones spargere puris
"Tentavi."———

[s] It has been printed several times, as well separately, as in various collections of writers on alchymy, particularly in the *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa* of Mangetus, *vol.* ii. *p.* 371. *Geneve*, 1702. *fo.*

[t] "AURELII AUGURELLI IMAGO EST, QUAM VIDES,
"UNI VACANTIS LITERARUM SERIO
"STUDIO ET JOCOSO, DISPARI CURA TAMEN;
"HOC UT VEGETIOR SIC FIERET AD SERIA,
"ILLO UT JOCOSIS UTERETUR FIRMIOR."

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Besides his *Chrysopoeia* and another Latin poem entitled *Geronticon*, or on old age, there remains of Augurelli a volume of poems under the names of *Iambici*, *Sermones*, and *Carmina*, which has frequently been reprinted. The merits of these poems have been variously appreciated by succeeding criticks, but they undoubtedly display an easy and natural vein of poetry, a great acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, and a purity and correctness of style, which few authors of that early period had attained.[u] On this account a learned Italian, himself no inelegant poet, after having fully considered the sentiments of preceding writers, and particularly the unfavourable opinion of Julius Cesar Scaliger on this subject, scruples not to assert, that on a question of this nature, Scaliger is incapable of forming a proper judgment, and that the writings of Augurelli are worthy of immortality.[v]

Latin writings of Sanazzaro.

The Latin writings of Sanazzaro are entitled to more particular consideration, and although not voluminous, most probably afforded him occupation for the chief part of his life. They consist of his piscatory eclogues; two books of elegies; three

[u] The poems of Augurelli were published by Aldo, in a beautiful volume in 8°. *Ven.* 1505.

[v] *Giammateo Toscano, Peplus Ital. No.* lxv. *p.* 40. *Ed. Par.* 1578.

three of epigrams, or short copies of verses, and his celebrated poem *De partu Virginis*. Of these the eclogues possess the merit of having exhibited a novel species of composition, in having adapted the language of poetry to the characters and occupations of fishermen; and this task he has executed with a degree of fancy, variety, and even of elegance, which perhaps no other person could have excelled; yet it may be doubted, whether these subjects, and the long details of no very pleasing nature to which they give rise, are well adapted for a professed series of poems; the varied aspects of mountains, vales, and forests, and the innocuous occupations, and diversified amusements of pastoral life, are ill exchanged for the uniformity of the watery element, and the miserable and savage employment of dragging from its depths its unfortunate inhabitants.



The elegies of Sanazzaro, are, however, much more highly to be esteemed; as well for their innumerable poetical beauties, and the expressive simplicity and elegance of their style, as for the many interesting circumstances which they have preserved to us respecting the times in which he lived. But the work to which Sanazzaro devoted the greatest part of his time, and on which he chiefly relied for his poetical immortality, was his poem in three books, *De partu Virginis*, which after the labour of twenty years, and the emendations derived from the suggestions of his learned friends,

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friends, was at length brought to a termination. That Leo X. would have thought himself honoured by the patronage of this poem, there is sufficient reason to believe; but Sanazzaro had from political motives long evinced a kind of habitual hostility to the Roman see, and some circumstances are said to have occurred between him and Leo X. which are supposed to have increased, rather than diminished his antipathy, and to have induced him to express his resentment in a sarcastick copy of Latin verses, in which the family descent and personal defects of the pontiff, are, from want, as it would seem, of other causes of reprehension, the chief objects of his satire. [w] Whether, however,

[w] It appears that Alfonso Castriotta, marquis of Tripalda, had formed a marriage contract with Cassandra Marchese, a Neapolitan lady, who enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the esteem and friendship of Sanazzaro, but that having repented of his engagement, he applied to the Roman court for a dispensation, to release him from its effects. To the granting this dispensation, Sanazzaro opposed all his influence, and engaged his friend Bembo to prevent, if possible, the issuing the bull; but the rank and opulence of the marquis were suffered to prevail against the efforts of the lady and her friends, and the tenour of his own promise. The lines attributed to Sanazzaro on this occasion are as follow:

*In Leonem X.*

"Sumere maternis titulos cum posset ab ursis
"Cæculus hic noster, maluit esse Leo.

"Quid

ever, this alleged misunderstanding ever occurred or not; and whether the verses referred to be the production of Sanazzaro, or of some one who assumed his name, as has not without reason been asserted,[x] certain it is, that Leo was so far from manifesting any displeasure against the poet that on being informed of the completion of his great work, he addressed to him a letter, commending in the highest terms of approbation, his talents and his piety, entreating him to publish his poem without further delay, and assuring him of the protection and favour of the holy see. Induced by these representations, Sanazzaro immediately prepared to lay his performance before the publick, with a dedication in Latin verse to Leo X. but the death of that pontiff, which occurred only a few months after the date of his letter, prevented Sanazzaro

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" Quid tibi cum magno commune est, Talpa, Leone?
" Non cadit in turpes nobilis ira feras.
" Ipse licet cupias animos simulare Leonis;
" Non Lupus hoc genitor, non sinit Ursa parens.
" Ergo aliud tibi prorsus habendum est, Cæcule, nomen;
" Nam cuncta ut possis, non potes esse Leo."

x This and other epigrams of Sanazzaro against the Roman pontiffs, printed in several editions of his works, are considered by Fontanini as scandalous libels, published by the heretical authors of the pasquillades, in the name of Sanazzaro, and incautiously admitted by subsequent editors into the collections of his works. *v. Fontanini Bib. Eoth. Ital.* i. 453.

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nazzaro from carrying his intentions into effect, and that testimony of respect intended for Leo X. was reserved by its author for Clement VII. to whom he inscribed his poem in a few elegant lines, which bear, however, strong internal evidence, that they were originally intended for his more accomplished predecessor.[y] On receiving the work from the hands of the cardinal Girolamo Seripando,[z] Clement,

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[y] "CLEMENTI SEPTIMO PONTIFICI MAXIMO
"Actius Syncerus.
"Magne Parens, Custosque hominum, cui jus datur uni
"Claudere cælestes, et reserare fores;
"Occurrent si qua in nostris male firma libellis,
"Deleat errores æqua litura meos.
"Imperiis, Venerande, tuis submittimus illos;
"Nam sine te recta non licet ire via.
"Ipse manu sacrisque potens Podalyrius herbis
"Ulcera Pæonia nostra levabis ope.
"Quippe mihi toto nullus te præter in orbe
"Triste salutifera leniet arte malum.
"Rarus honos, Summo se Praeside posse tueri;
"Rarior, a Summo Praeside posse legi."

Sanazzaro had written the concluding stanza,

"Rarus honos tanto se Principe posse tueri;
"Rarior a Summo Praeside posse legi."

But the advice of his friend Puderico induced him to adopt the improved reading.

[z] *Crispo, vita del Sanazzaro, fo. 26. in fronte alle sue Opere. Ed. Ven.* 1752. 8°.

ment, who was no less ambitious of the honour of being considered as a patron of letters, than Leo X. requested the cardinal to thank Sanazzaro in his name for his beautiful poem, to assure him of his favour, and to request that he might see him at Rome as early as might be convenient to him. Not satisfied, however, with this verbal expression of his approbation, he addressed a letter to the poet, in which he expresses high satisfaction in having his name united to a poem which is destined to survive, and to be read through all future times; at the same time justifying the love of that fame which is the result of commendable labours, which he considers as the image or reflection of the immortality promised by the religion of Christ. This obligation the pontiff expresses himself ready to repay to the utmost of his power; and from these assurances Sanazzaro is supposed to have entertained hopes of being admitted into the sacred college. [a] That he would have received some distinguished mark of the approbation of the pontiff is not improbable, had not the calamitous events of the times, and particularly the dreadful sacking of the city of Rome, called the attention of Clement VII. to objects more immediately connected with his own safety. Sanazzaro had, however, the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Egidio, cardinal

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[a] *Crispo, vita del Sanazzaro, p.* 26. *et nota* 68.

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dinal of Viterbo, to whom he had also transmitted a copy of his poem, containing the highest commendations both of the work and its author; and as praise is the natural and proper reward of poetry, Sanazzaro must have been extremely unreasonable if the reception of his work did not afford him entire satisfaction. [b]

His poem *De partu Virginis*

That the poem *De partu Virginis* contains many fine passages, and exhibits the powers of the author, and his command of the Latin language, in a more striking point of view, than any of his other writings, cannot be denied; and it is even probable, that he chose this subject for the purpose of displaying the facility with which he could apply the language, and the imagery of paganism, to the illustration of the truths of the Christian creed. But after all, it must be confessed, that his choice was unfortunate; and if not deserving of reprehension in point of orthodoxy, was at least deserving of it in the estimation of a true and correct taste. To require the attention of the reader through a poem containing nearly fifteen hundred lines, to an event over

[b] This poem was translated into Italian, in *versi sciolti*, by Giovanni Giolito, one of the sons of the celebrated printer Gabriel Giolito, and published at Venice, in 1588, in a beautiful edition entitled "DEL PARTO DELLA VERGINE "*del Sanazzaro, libri tre, tradotti in versi Toscani da Gio-* "*vanni Giolito de' Ferrari, al Ser. Sig. Don Vincenzo Gon-* "*zaga, Duca di Mantoua e di Monferrato,*" &c.

over which the common feelings of mankind have agreed to throw a respectful veil, is itself injudicious, if not indelicate; but to expose the mysteries of the Christian faith, in the language of profane poetry; to discuss with particular minuteness the circumstances of the miraculous conception and delivery of the virgin, and to call upon the heathen deities to guide him through all the recesses of the mysterious rite, [c] can only occasion disgust and horrour to the true believer, and afford the incredulous a subject for ridicule or contempt. Hence it is probable, that the elegies and other pieces of Sanazzaro, which he has devoted to natural and simple subjects, or to the commemoration of historical facts and characters, will continue to interest and delight the reader, when the poem *De partu Virginis* will be consulted only as an object of literary curiosity, or regarded as an instance of the waste of labour, and of the misapplication of genius.

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[c] These improprieties did not escape the animadversion of Erasmus, in his Ciceronianus, "Præferendus est "(Sanazzarius) Pontano, quod rem sacram tractare non "piguit; quod nec dormitanter eam, nec inamæne tracta-"vit; sed meo quidem suffragio plus laudis erat laturus, "si materiam sacram tractâsset aliquanto sacratius."— "Nunc quorsum attinebat hic toties invocare Musas et "Phæbum? Quid quod Virginem fingit intentam præcipue "Sibyllinis versibus, quod non apte Proteum inducit de "Christo vaticinantem, quod Nympharum Hamadryadum

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Among the followers of the muses, Sanazzaro may be considered as one of the most fortunate. The destruction of his beloved villa of Mergoglino, by Philibert, prince of Orange, on account of its having been occupied as a military station by the French, is said, however, to have occasioned him great concern;[d] but with the exception of this event, amidst all the convulsions of his country, his talents and integrity procured for him general respect, and he enjoyed to the close of his life an honourable independence. His later years were past in the pleasant vicinity of Somma, in the society of Cassandra Marchese, who is the frequent subject of panegyrick in his writings.[e] The wishes of the poet,

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" ac Nereidum plena facit omnia? Quam dure respondet " Christianis auribus versus ille, qui, ni fallor, virgini " matri dicitur. *Tuque adeo, spes fida hominum, spes fida Deorum.*" &c. *Ciceron. p.* 90. *Ed. Tolosæ.* 1620, where this passage is followed by some very judicious remarks on the manner of treating sacred subjects in poetry.

[d] *Crispo, vita del Sannazzaro, p.* 28. *e nota* 75.

[e] " Tu quoque vel fessæ testis, Cassandra, senectæ,
" Quam manet arbitrium funeris omne mei;
" Compositos tumulo cineres, atque ossa piato;
" Neu pigeat vati solvere justa tuo.
" Parce tamen scisso seu me, mea vita, capillo;
" Sive—sed heu prohibet dicere plura dolor."
*Sanaz. Eleg. lib.* iii. *El.* ii.

To the same lady, Sanazzaro has also addressed the fifth of his piscatory eclogues.

poet, that she might be present to close his eyes and perform his funeral rites, were literally fulfilled; and under her care his remains were deposited in a chapel which he had erected at his villa of Mergoglino, and where a superb monument was some years afterwards raised to his memory, on which was inscribed the following lines by Bembo:

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"Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni,
"Sincerus, musa proximus ut tumulo."

Fresh flowerets strow, for Sanazzar lies here,
In genius, as in place, to Virgil near.

The extraordinary talents displayed by Sanazzaro in his Latin compositions, did not, however, secure to him an uncontested preeminence over his contemporaries. Before he had brought to a conclusion the work on which he meant to found his poetical reputation, several powerful rivals arose, one of whom, in particular, produced, under the auspices of Leo X. a poem of great merit and considerable extent, which will secure to its author a lasting reputation among the Latin writers of modern times. This poem is the *Christiad* of Vida; a man who may be considered as one of the chief luminaries of the age in which he lived, and of whose life and writings a more particular account cannot fail to be generally interesting.

Girolamo Vida.

Marco Girolamo Vida was a native of Cremona. Some diversity of opinion has arisen as to the time of

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of his birth, which event has generally been placed about the year 1470,[f] whilst some have contended, that it could not have occurred until near the year 1490.[g] The reasons adduced by different authors have served to refute the opinions of their opponents without establishing their own; and as Vida was, as it will hereafter appear, certainly born some years after the first mentioned time, and some years before the latter, his nativity may be placed with sufficient accuracy, about the middle of these two very distant periods. His family was of respectable rank, and although his parents were not

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[f] *De vitâ et scriptis auctoris. in op. Vidæ. vol.* ii. *Appx. p.* 154. *in not. Ed. Comin.* 1731. 4°.

[g] *Marcheselli, Orazioni in defesa del Vida, ap. Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 276. The last mentioned author has also adduced a passage from the first book of the *Scacchia*, dedicated to Isabella Gonzaga, marchioness of Mantua, from which the poem appears to have been written when her son Federigo was in his early youth. Federigo was born in 1500, and Tiraboschi supposes he might, at the time when Vida wrote his poem, be about nine or ten years of age. Now as Vida himself informs us that he wrote this poem in his early years, *adolescentiæ suæ lusum*, the historian conjectures, that he might then be about twenty years of age, and was consequently born about the year 1490. It is, however, to be observed, that this poem was not one of the earliest efforts of the poetical talents of Vida, as we shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to notice.

not wealthy, they were enabled to bestow upon their son a good education, for which purpose he was successively sent to several of the learned academies with which Italy was then so well provided.[h] The first specimen of the talents of Vida in Latin poetry, appeared in a collection of pieces on the death of the poet Serafino d'Aquila, which happened in the year 1500; towards which he contributed two pieces, which were published in that collection at Bologna, in the year 1504. In this publication he is named by his baptismal appellation Marc-Antonio, which on his entering into regular orders he changed to that of Marco-Girolamo. The memorable combat between thirteen French and thirteen Italian soldiers under the walls of Barletta, in the year 1503, afforded him a subject for a more extensive work; the loss of which is to be regretted, not only as the early production of so elegant a writer, but as a curious historical document.[i] After having

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h " —— Vos claras me scilicet artes,
" Re licet angusta, potius voluistis adire,
" Quam genere indignis studiis incumbere nostro;
" Atque ideo doctas docilem misistis ad urbes."
*Vid. Manibus Parentum, in op. v.* ii. *p.* 143.

i " *v. ante. vol.* ii. *chap.* vii. *p.* 9. *note (g)*. If we accede to the opinion of Tiraboschi, Vida, at the time of the death of Serafino d' Aquila, was only about ten years of age, and at the time of the combat at Barletta, about thirteen; a period of life when it can scarcely be supposed that be was capable

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having made a considerable proficiency in the more serious studies of philosophy, theology, and political economy, he repaired to Rome, where he arrived in the latter part of the pontificate of Julius II. and appears to have been a constant attendant on those literary meetings which were then held in that city, and were continued in the commencement of the pontificate of Leo X. Of his larger works, on which his reputation as a Latin poet is at this day founded, his three books, *De arte Poetica*, were probably the first produced; and these were soon afterwards followed by his poem on the growth of silk worms, entitled *Bombyx*, and by his *Scacchiæ Ludus*, a poem on the game of chess.[j] On the last of these poems being shown to Leo X. he was delighted beyond measure with the novelty of the subject, and with the dignity, ease, and lucid arrangement with which it was treated; which appeared to him almost beyond the reach of human powers.[k] He therefore requested to see the author, who

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capable of celebrating these events in Latin poetry; and we may therefore with confidence presume, that he was born some years prior to the date assigned to his birth by that author.

[j] *Fabalii, Orat. de Vida; in Vidæ Op. App. p.* 143.

[k] "Poema hoc, tam festivum, tam elegans, quum Leo "Decimus pontifex forte legisset vel potius singulas "clausulas, singulaque verba contemplatus esset, tanta fuit "affectus admiratione, non solum ex materiæ novitate, sed "etiam

who was accordingly introduced to him by Giammateo Ghiberti, bishop of Verona, who appears to have been his earliest patron, and whom he has celebrated in terms of the warmest affection in several of his works.[1] Vida was received by the pontiff with particular distinction and kindness, received as an attendant on the court, and rewarded with honours and emoluments; but that upon which the poet appears chiefly to have congratulated himself, was, that his works were read and approved by the pontiff himself.[m] Whether Leo was merely desirous of engaging Vida in a subject that might call forth all his talents, or whether he wished to raise up a rival to Sanazzaro, who he probably suspected was not favourable to his fame, certain it is, that at his suggestion, Vida begun his *Christiad*, which he afterwards completed in six books, but which the pontiff was prevented by his untimely death, from seeing brought to a termination. The future patronage of this work was therefore reserved

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His *Christiad*.

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" etiam carminis majestate, ut haud crederet talia a mortali " fieri pervestigarique posse, nisi divino aliquo mentis in- " stinctu." *Faballi, Orat. de Vida. p.* 143.

[1] Particularly in two fine odes, and a copy of Hexameter verse; in his *Carmina*, *No.* I. III. IV.

[m] " —— Leo jam carmina nostra
" Ipse libens relegebat. Ego illi carus, et auctus
" Muneribusque, opibusque, et honoribus insignitus."
*Vidæ, Parentum Manibus. in op. vol.* ii *p.* 144.

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reserved for Clement VII. under whose auspices it was first published in the year 1535, with an apologetical advertisement at the close of the work; in which the author excuses the boldness of his attempt, by informing the reader, that he was induced to begin, and to persevere in his undertaking, by the solicitations and munificence of the two pontiffs Leo X. and Clement VII. to whose exertions and liberality, he ascribes the revival of literature from its long state of torpor and degradation.[n]

In order to stimulate the poet to terminate this work, or to reward him for the progress which he had made in it, Clement had already raised him to the rank of apostolical secretary, and in the year 1532, conferred on him the bishoprick of Alba. Soon after the death of that pontiff, Vida retired to his diocese, and was present at its defence against the attack of the French, in the year 1542, where his exhortations and example animated the inhabitants successfully to oppose the enemy. After having

[n] Quisquis es, auctor te admonitum vult, se non laudis ergo opus adeo periculosum cupide aggressum; verum ei honestis propositis præmiis a duobus summis pontificibus demandatum scito, Leone X. prius, mox Clemente VII. ambobus ex etruscorum Medycum clarissima familia; cujus liberalitati atque industriæ, hæc ætas literas ac bonas artes, quæ plane extinctæ erant, excitatas atque reviviscentes debet. Id volebam nescius ne esses.

having attended, in his episcopal character, at the council of Trent, and taken an active part in the ecclesiastical and political transactions of the times, he died at his see of Alba, on the twenty-seventh day of September, 1566, more respected for his talents, integrity, and strict attention to his pastoral duties, than for the wealth which he had amassed from his preferments.° CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43.

Of all the writers of Latin poetry at this period, Vida has been the most generally known beyond the limits of Italy. This is to be attributed, not only to the fortunate choice of his subjects, but to his admirable talent of uniting a considerable portion of elegance, and often of dignity, with the utmost facility and clearness of style; insomuch, that the most complex descriptions, or abstruse illustrations, are rendered by him perfectly easy and familiar to the reader. Of his Virgilian eclogues, the third and last is devoted to commemorate the sorrows of Vittoria Colonna, on the death of her

° "Io ho veduto," says Tiraboschi, "l'inventario de' "mobili trovati nel suo Palazzo Vescovile; il quale ci fa "vedere ch' ei morì assai povero." *Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 283. Vida was buried in his cathedral at Alba, where the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb.

HIC SITUS EST M. HIERONYMUS VIDA.
CREMON. ALBÆ. EPISCOPUS.

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her beloved husband, the marquis of Pescara.[p] Among his smaller poems, his verses to the memory of his parents, who both died about the same time, and while he was engaged in the successful pursuit of preferment at Rome, display true pathos, and beautiful images of filial affection.[q]

His poeticks.

The poeticks of Vida, to which he is indebted for so considerable a part of his reputation, both as a poet and as a critick, were, on their publication in 1527, addressed by the author to the dauphin Francis, son of Francis I. at that time a prisoner with his brother Henry, as a hostage for his father at the court of Spain; but this address was not prefixed

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[p] "Conjugis amissi funus, pulcherrima Nicæ
"Flebat, et in solis errabat montibus ægra;
"Atque homines fugiens, mæsto solatia amori
"Nulla dabat; luctu sed cuncta implebat amaro;
"Flens noctem, flens lucem; ipsi jam funera montes
"Lugebant Davali; Davalum omnia respondebant."
*In Vidæ Op. vol.* ii. *p.* 131.

[q] "Vos unos agitabam animo, vestraque fruebar
"Lætitia exsultans, et gaudia vestra fovebam,
"Mecum animo versans, quam vobis illa futura
"Læta dies, qua me vestris amplexibus urgens
"Irruerem improvisus ad oscula, vix bene utrique
"Agnitus, insolitis titulis et honoribus auctus,
"Scilicet, et longo tandem post tempore visus,
"Dum tenuit me Roma, humili vos sede Cremona.
*In Vidæ Op. vol.* ii. *p.* 145.

prefixed until several years after the termination of the work itself, which was written at Rome, under the pontificate of Leo X. and originally inscribed to Angelo Dovizio, nephew of the cardinal Bernardo da Bibbiena, who afterwards attained also the honour of the purple.[r] It has indeed been supposed. that this production was first printed at Cremona, in the year 1520; and it is certain, that the fellow-citizens of Vida had requested his permission to make use of this work for the instruction of youth, to which he expressed his assent, in a letter which yet remains;[s] but although it appears, from the archives of Cremona, that it was actually ordered to be printed, yet there is reason to suppose that this order was not carried into effect; not a single copy of such an edition having hitherto occurred to the notice of any bibliographer. The cause

[r] Tiraboschi had seen a beautiful MS. of this poem as first written, and addressed to Dovizio, of which he has given a particular account. *v. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 279.

[s] In this letter we find the following apology, which he attempts to derive from the difficulty of his undertaking. "Scio enim quam periculosum sit, de re tam varia, tam "difficili atque ardua, scribere, his præsertim temporibus, "quibus tot præclara ingenia liberalitate Leonis X. Pont. "Max. invitata, emerserunt, emerguntque in dies; ut "artes mihi, ipsâ injuriâ temporum jamdudum extinctæ, "videantur quodammodo hùjus auspiciis reviviscere." *In Ep. præf. ad lib. de Poetic. in Ed. Com.*

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cause of this is perhaps to be attributed to Vida himself, who had, in his letter, given strict injunctions that his work should not be made publick;[t] and whose subsequent remonstrances, when he was acquainted with the intentions of the magistrates of Cremona, may be supposed to have deterred them from committing his work to the press.[u] The approbation which the poeticks of Vida had the good fortune to obtain from the most correct and elegant poet of our own country, has recommended them to general notice,[v] to which it may be added, that an

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[t] "Hac tamen lege hos libros vobis credimus, ut apud "vos in quopiam loco, aut publico, aut privato serventur; "quo tantum civibus nostris aditus sit: ne si forte in exte- "rorum manus furto sublati devenerint, injussu meo, Li- "brariorum avaritiâ in vulgus venales prodeant; quâ re, "medius fidius, nihil mihi molestius accidere posset." *In Ep. præf. ad lib. de Poetic. in Ed. Com.*

[u] Some further particulars on this subject may be found in a letter of Girolamo Negri, in the *Lettere di Principi*, *vol.* i. *p.* 106.

[v] "But see each muse, in LEO's golden days,
"Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays:
"ROME's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,
"Shakes off the dust, and rears his reverend head.
"Then sculpture and her sister arts revive;
"Stones leaped to form, and rocks began to live;
"With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;
"A RAPHAEL painted and a VIDA sung.

"Immortal

an excellent English critick considers them as the most perfect of all the compositions of their author, and as "one of the first, if not the very first piece "of criticism, that appeared in Italy since the revi- "val of learning."[w]



In his poem of the *Christiad*, Vida has avoided the errour into which Sanazzaro has fallen, in mingling the profane fables of the heathen mythology with the mysteries of the Christian religion; and like Milton, seeks for inspiration only from the great fountain of life and of truth. Although he placed Virgil before him as his principal model, and certainly regarded him with sentiments next to adoration, as may appear from the conclusion of the third book of his poeticks, yet he knew how to fix the limits of his imitation; and whilst he availed himself of the style and manner, and sometimes even of the language, of the great Mantuan, he sought not to give to his writings a classick air, by the introduction of such persons, and imagery, as could only violate probability, nature, and truth. Hence,

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"Immortal VIDA! on whose honoured brow
"The poet's bays and critick's ivy grow;
"Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
"As next in place to Mantua, next in fame."
*Pope's Essay on Criticism, ver.* 697.

[w] *Warton's Essay on the genius, &c. of Pope, vol.* i *p.* 197.

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Hence, whilst the poem of Sanazzaro, seems to be the production of an idolater, who believes not in the truths which he affects to inculcate, and frequently verges on the confines of indecency or incongruity, the sacred writings of Vida display a sincere and fervent piety, a contempt of meretricious ornament, and an energetick simplicity of language, which will secure to them unmingled and lasting approbation.

Girolamo Fracastoro.

In the first class of Italian scholars at this period, we may also confidently place Girolamo Fracastoro; who was not less distinguished by his skill in medicine, and his uncommon scientifick acquirements, than by his great and acknowledged talents for Latin poetry. He was a native of Verona, where his ancestors had long held a respectable station. The time of his birth may be placed with tolerable certainty in the year 1483. Some peculiar circumstances attended his infancy, which his future eminence has perhaps caused to be more particularly noticed. At the time of his birth, his lips adhered together in such a manner as scarcely allowed him to breathe, and a surgical operation became necessary in order to remedy the defect. This incident is commemorated in an epigram of Julius Cesar Scaliger, which may thus be imitated:*

Thine

* "Os Fracastorio nascenti defuit, ergo
"Sedulus attenta finxit Apollo manu.

"Inde

Thine infant lips, FRACASTOR, nature sealed,
But the mute organ favouring Phœbus healed.
He broke the charm; and hence to thee belong,
The art of healing, and the power of song.

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An awful event which occurred in the infancy of Fracastoro has also been considered as a presage of his future eminence. Whilst his mother was carrying him in her arms, she was struck dead by lightning, but her child received not the slightest injury. This singular fact is attested by such decisive evidence, as to place it beyond all reasonable doubt.[y]

After having received a liberal education in his native place, Fracastoro repaired to Padua, where he for some time availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Pietro Pomponazzo, and formed a friendly intimacy with several persons who afterwards rose to great literary eminence. The authority of his instructer, did not, however, lead Fracastoro

"Inde hauri, Medicusque ingens, ingensque Poeta,
"Et magno facies omnia plena Deo."

[y] "Fracastorius mira vitæ incunabula a divina fatalique "cælestium numinum benignitate auspicatus est. Matrem "enim infans adhuc, et tantum non vagiens, cum ipsa ei "in sinu subsultanti blandulos garriret jocos, ictu fulminis "horribili confectam illæsus sensit, si modo sentire po-"tuit." *Franc. Pola, ap. Menckenium, in vita Fracastorii, p.* 30.

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. Fracastoro to embrace his singular and erroneous opinions in metaphysicks, some of which he afterwards confuted in one of his dialogues, although without expressly naming his former tutor.[z] He early perceived the futility of the barbarous and scholastick philosophy which Pomponazzo professed and directed his whole attention to the cultivation of real science, of natural knowledge, and of every branch of polite literature. At the age of nineteen, he had not only received the laurel, the emblem of the highest academical degree at Padua, but was appointed professor of logick in that university, which office he relinquished a few years afterwards, that he might attend with less interruption to his own improvement.[a] He at first applied himself to the study of medicine rather as a science than as a profession; but afterwards engaged with great assiduity in the laborious duty of a physician, and was regarded as the most skilful practitioner in Italy. His engagements in this respect, did not, however, prevent him from other pursuits, and his proficiency in mathematicks, in cosmography, in astronomy, and other branches of natural science, have given just reason to suppose, that no other person in those times united in

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[z] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* i. *p.* 293.

[a] *Maffei, Veron. v.* iii. *par.* ii. *p.* 337. *ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 293. *in not. Ed. Rom.* 1785.

in himself such a variety of knowledge.[b] The irruption of the emperour elect Maximilian into Italy, in the year 1507, and the dangers with which the city of Padua was threatened, induced Fracastoro, who had then recently lost his father, to form the intention of taking up his residence in his native city of Verona, but he was prevailed upon to change his purpose by the solicitations of the celebrated commander Bartolommeo D'Alviano, who amidst the tumults of war, and the incessant occupations of his active life, had never ceased to cultivate and to encourage literary studies. At his request Fracastoro delivered publick instructions at the celebrated academy established by D'Alviano in his town of Pordonone, in the rugged district of Trevigi; which place, after having been wrested by him from the emperour, was given to him by the Venetian senate as an independent dominion, in which he was succeeded by his son. When that great general was again called into publick life, Fracastoro accompanied him, as the associate of his studies, until the year 1509,[c] when at

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[b] *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 293.

[c] It is remarkable that D'Alviano had in his train three of the greatest Latin poets that modern times have produced; Andrea Navagero, Hieronymo Fracastoro, and Giovanni Cotta, the latter of whom was despatched by D'Alviano, when he was made a prisoner at the battle of Agnadello, on an embassy to Julius II. to endeavour to

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at the fatal battle of Ghiaradadda, D'Alviano was wounded and taken prisoner by the French. After this event Fracastoro retired to Verona, and dividing his

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procure the liberation of his patron; on which expedition he died of a fever, having yet scarcely attained the prime of life. The few poems left by Cotta breathe the very spirit of his countryman Catullus, and are well characterized in the following lines of Jo. Matthaeus Toscanus:

"Qui Musas, Veneremque Gratiasque
"Vis cœtu socias videre in uno,
"Hunc unum aureolum legas libellum,
"Quo Musæ neque sunt politiores,
"Ipsa nec Venus est magis venusta,
"Nec gratæ Charites magis. Quod ulli
"Si fortasse secus videtur, ille
"Iratas sibi noverit misello,
"Camœnas, Veneremque, Gratiasque."

And Flaminio has ventured even to prefer his poems to, or at least to place them on an equality with those of Catullus himself.

"Si fas cuique suî sensus expromere cordis,
"Hoc equidem dicam, pace, Catulle, tua;
"Est tua Musa quidem dulcissima; Musa videtur
"Ipsa tamen COTTÆ dulcior esse mihi."

The lines on the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, usually called the first duke of Florence, attributed to Cotta by Gaguet and Vulpius, *v. Fracastor. Cottæ, et aliorum Carm. Patav.* 1718. 8°. are the production of some later author; that event not having occurred until many years after his death.

his time between his city residence and his retired villa in the mountains of Incaffi, devoted himself to scientifick and literary pursuits, and to the composition of those works in various departments which have conferred so much honour on his memory. CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43.

His poem entitled *Syphilis.*

To this period of the life of Fracastoro may be referred the commencement of his celebrated poem, entitled *Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico,* which appears from internal evidence to have been completed under the pontificate of Leo X. The disease which forms the subject of his work had then been known in Italy about twenty years, and the ravages which it had made among all ranks of people, strongly mark the licentiousness of the times. In adopting this subject, it was undoubtedly the intention of Fracastoro to unite his various talents and acquirements in one great work, which should at once display his extensive knowledge in the various branches of natural philosphy, his skill and experience on medical subjects, and his admirable genius for Latin poetry. The success of his labours proves that he had neither mistaken nor overrated his powers, and the approbation bestowed from all quarters upon the Syphilis was such, as no production of modern times had before obtained. This work he inscribed to Pietro Bembo, then domestick secretary to Leo X. with whom he had always

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always maintained a friendly intercourse.[f] In the beginning of the second book he particularly refers to the period at which the poem was written, and takes a general view of the circumstances of the times, the calamities that had afflicted Italy, the discoveries of the East Indies, the recent improvements in natural knowledge, in which he refers with great approbation to the writings of Pontano; and to the tranquillity enjoyed under the pontificate of Leo X.

Nor yet, without the guiding hand of heaven,
To mortal toils are new acquirements given.
For though fierce tempests sweep the fields of air,
And stars malignant shed an angry glare;
Not yet the gracious power his smile denies,
Evinced in happier hours, and purer skies.
— If in new forms a dire disease impend;
In dreadful wars if man with man contend;
If the sad wretch, afar condemned to roam,
To hostile bands resign his native home;

If

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[f] "Bembe, decus clarum Ausoniæ, si forte vacare
"Consultis Leo te a magnis paullisper, et alta
"Rerum mole sinit, totum qua sustinet orbem;
"Et juvat ad dulces paullum secedere musas;
"Ne nostros contemne orsus, medicumque laborem,
"Quicquid id est. Deus hæc quondam dignatus Apol-
"lo est;
"Et parvis quoque rebus inest sua sæpe voluptas.
"Scilicet hac tenui rerum sub imagine multum
"Naturæ, fatique subest, et grandis origo."
*Syphil. lib.* i. *v.* 15.

If cities blaze, and powerful kingdoms fall,
And heaven's own altars share the fate of all;
If o'er its barrier burst the heaving tide,
And sweep away the peasant's humbler pride;
Yet, even now (forbid to elder times)
We pierce the ocean to remotest climes;
Give to the farthest east our keels to roll,
And touch the confines of the utmost pole.
— Nor o'er rude wilds, and dangerous tracks alone,
We make Arabia's fragrant wealth our own;
But 'midst Hesperia's milder climes, descry,
The dusky offspring of a warmer sky;
Midst farthest IND, where Ganges rolls his floods,
And ebon forests wave, and spicy woods;
Where man a different offspring seems to rise;
And brighter planets roll through brighter skies.
Him too we boast, GREAT POET, o'er whose song
His own PARTHENOPE delighted hung;
With refluent wave whilst smooth SEBETO moves,
And MARO's mighty shade the strain approves
Of all the wandering stars of heaven that told;
And eastern groves of vegetable gold.
— But why recount each bard of mighty name,
Who stands recorded in the rolls of fame;
Whom future times shall hail (to merit just)
Whilst their mute ashes slumber in the dust?
— Yet BEMBO, not in silent joy supprest,
Be one great boon; the latest and the best;
High-minded LEO; by whose generous cares,
Her head once more imperial LATIUM rears;
Whilst TIBER, rising from his long repose,
Onward in gratulating murmurs flows.
At HIS approach each threatening portent flies,
And milder beams irradiate all the skies;
He calls the muses to their loved retreats;
(Too long sad exiles from their favourite seats).

Gives

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Gives Rome once more her ancient laws to know,
And truth and right, to fix their reign below.
Now greatly just, he rushes on to arms,
As patriot ardour, or religion warms;
Back towards his source Euphrates rolls his tides,
And Nile his head in secret caverns hides;
Egean Doris seeks her oozy caves,
And Euxine trembles 'midst his restless waves."[e]

The

[e] "Credo equidem et quædam nobis divinitus esse
"Inventa, ignaros fatis ducentibus ipsis.
"Nam, quamquam fera tempestas, et iniqua fuerunt
"Sidera, non tamen omnino præsentia divûm
"Abfuit a nobis, placidi et clementia cæli.
"Si morbum insolitum, si dura et tristia bella
"Vidimus, et sparsos dominorum cæde penates,
"Oppidaque, incensasque urbes, subversaque regna,
"Et templa, et raptis temerata altaria sacris:
"Flumina dejectas si perrumpentia ripas
"Evertêre sata, et mediis nemora eruta in undis,
"Et pecora, et domini, correptaque rura natarunt;
"Obseditque inimica ipsas penuria terras;
"Hæc eadem tamen, hæc ætas (quod fata negarunt
"Antiquis) totum potuit sulcare carinis.
"Id pelagi, immensum quod circuit Amphitrite.
"Nec visum satis, extremo ex Atlante repostos
"Hesperidum penetrare sinus, Prassumque sub Arcto
"Inspectare alia, præruptaque litora Rhapti,
"Atque Arabo advehere, et Carmano ex æquore merces;
"Auroræ sed itum in populos Titanidis usque est
"Supra Indum, Gangemque supra, qua terminus olim
"Catygare noti orbis erat; superata Cyambe,
lites ebeno, et felices macere sylvæ.

"Denique

The title of this singular poem is derived from the shepherd *Syphilus*, who is supposed to have kept

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" Denique et a nostro diversum gentibus orbem,
" Diversum cælo, et clarum majoribus astris
" Remigio audaci attigimus, ducentibus et Diis.
" Vidimus et vatem egregium, cui pulchra canenti
" Parthenope, placidusque cavo Sebethus ab antro
" Plauserunt, umbræque sacri manesque Maronis;
" Qui magnos stellarum orbes cantavit, et hortos
" Hesperidum, cælique omnes variabilis oras.
" Te vero ut taceam, atque alios, quos fama futura
" Post mutos cineres, quos et venientia secla
" Antiquis conferre volent, at BEMBE, tacendus
" Inter dona Deûm nobis data non erit umquam
" Magnanimus LEO, quo Latium, quo maxima Roma,
" Attollit caput alta, paterque ex aggere Tybris
" Assurgit, Romæque fremens gratatur ovanti.
" Cujus ab auspiciis jam nunc mala sidera mundo
" Cessere, et læto regnat jam Juppiter orbe,
" Puraque pacatum diffundit lumina cælum.
" Unus qui ærumnas post tot, longosque labores
" Dulcia jam profugas revocavit ad otia Musas,
" Et leges Latio antiquas, rectumque piumque,
" Restituit; qui justa animo jam concipit arma
" Pro re Romana, pro religione Deorum.
" Unde etiam Euphrates, etiam late ostia Nili,
" Et tantum Euxini nomen tremit unda refusi,
" Atque Ægæa suos confugit Doris in isthmos."

*Syphil. lib.* ii. *v.* 11.

It is very remarkable that Menckenius, in his life of Fracastoro, *p.* 111. has asserted that Fracastoro has not, either in his *Syphilis*, or in any other part of his works, expressed

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. kept the herds of Alcithous, a sovereign of Atlantis, and who, having become impatient of the scorching rays of the summer sun, refused, with impious expressions, to pay his sacrifices to Apollo, but raising an altar to Alcithous, worshipped that sovereign as his divinity. Exasperated at this indignity, Apollo infected the air with noxious vapours, in consequence of which, Syphilus contracted a loathsome disease, which displayed itself in ulcerous eruptions over his whole body. The means adopted for his restoration to health, and the circumstances by which the remedy was communicated to Europe, form a principal part of the subject of the poem; which

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pressed his approbation of, or even mentioned *Pontano*. "Ego vero, quantúmvis diligenter versatus in lectione "*Syphilidis*, tantum abest ut hic laudes quasdam PONTANI "commemoratas invenerim, ut ne ullam quidem ejus in- "jectam viderim mentionem. Et si *scripta ejus reliqua* "perquiras, *nihil umquam de Pontano in mentem venisse* "*Nostro*, manifesto intelliges." Surely Menckenius should have known that the poet mentioned in the passage above quoted,

> "Qui magnos stellarum orbes cantavit, et hortos
> "Hesperidum."——

could be no other than *Pontano*. In addition to which it may further be observed, that Fracastoro, in his dialogue entitled NAUGERIUS, *sive de Poetica*, has not only expressly mentioned Pontano, but has cited his opinion as to the object and end of poetry, which he there fully discusses and confirms. *v. Opt. Fracastor. apt. Giunt. f.* 116.

which throughout the whole displays a degree of elegance, and a propriety of poetical ornament, scarcely to be expected from so unpromising a topick. In relating the discovery of the great mineral remedy, the powers of which were then well known, and the use of which is fully explained, the author has introduced a beautiful episode, in which he explains the internal structure of the earth, the great operations of nature in the formation of metals, and the gloomy splendour of her subterraneous temples, her caverns, and her mines. This region he has peopled with poetical beings, among whom the nymph Lipare presides over the streams of quicksilver, into which the diseased visitant is directed to plunge himself thrice, and on his restoration to health, and his return to the regions of day, not to forget to pay his vows to Diana, and to the chaste nymphs of the sacred fount.



It would be tedious, if not impracticable, on the present occasion, to repeat the numerous testimonies of approbation with which this poem and its author have been honoured, as well on its first appearance, as in subsequent times;[f] but the most decisive

[f] Many of these testimonies may be found in the ARA FRACASTORIÆ, of Julius Cesar Scaliger, printed with other commendatory pieces, at the close of the second volume

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decisive proof of its merit is derived from the acknowledgment of Sanazzaro, who is generally accused of having estimated the writings of his contemporaries with an invidious severity, but who on perusing the *Syphilis*, confessed, that Fracastoro had in this work not only surpassed any of the writings of Pontano, but even the poem *De partu Virginis*, on which he had himself bestowed the labour of twenty years.[g]

The reputation of Fracastoro as a skilful physician, had, however, increased no less than his fame as an elegant poet; and besides being resorted to by great numbers for his assistance, he was frequently obliged to quit his retreat, for the purpose of attending on his particular friends, among men of rank and eminence in different parts of Italy.[h] By

volume of the works of Fracastoro, by Comino, *Patav.* 1739, 4°. and in the life of Fracastoro, by Menckenius, *sec.* 9.

[g] "Poeticam (artem) ita (Fracastorius) excoluit, ut ad "Virgilianam majestatem proxime accessisse eum fatereu-"tur æmuli; et in iis Jacobus Sanazzarius, alioqui parcus "et amarulentus alienæ eruditionis laudator, qui visa ejus "*Syphilide*, non solum Joannem Jovianum Pontanum, sed "se quoque ipsum, in opere, accurata viginti annorum "lima perpolito, victum exclamavit." *Thuani, Histor. lib.* xii. *tom.* i. *p.* 430. *Ed. Buckley.*

[h] If De Thou was not misinformed, Fracastoro exercised

By the desire of Paul III. he attended also in his medical character at the council of Trent, and it was by his advice that the session was removed from that city to Bologna.[i] The fatigues of his publick life were, however, compensated by the pleasures which he found on his return to his villa, in the society of Giammatteo Ghiberti, who then resided at his bishoprick of Verona, and expended his large revenues in the encouragement of learning, and learned men; and by the occasional visits of the most celebrated scholars from different parts of Italy. Among these were the three brothers of the Torriani, Marc-Antonio Flaminio, Andrea Navagero, and Giovan-Battista Rannusio; all of whom he has celebrated in his writings, of which some are also frequently devoted to the praises of the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom he dedicated his treatise in prose, *De morbis contagiosis*. The smaller poems of Fracastoro, in which he frequently refers to his beloved villa, to his mode of life, his literary associates, and his domestick concerns, are peculiarly interesting, and place him both as a man and an author in the most advantageous light.[j] The detached pieces of a few lines, to

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sed his profession without deriving from it a pecuniary reward, "Medicinam, ut *honestissime* ac *citra lucrum*, ita "felicissime, fecit." *Ibid.*

[i] *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 294.

[j] A translation of Fracastoro's description of his Caphian

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to each of which he has given the title of *Incidens*, may be regarded as so many miniature pictures, sketched with all the freedom of the Italian, and finished with all the correctness of the Flemish school. His sacred poem entitled *Joseph*, which he begun in his advanced years, and did not live to terminate, is sufficiently characteristick of his talents; although not considered as equal to the more vigorous productions of his youth. His specimens of Italian poetry are too few to add to his reputation, but will not derogate from the high character which he has by his various other labours so deservedly attained.

The death of Fracastoro was occasioned by an apoplexy, and occurred at his villa of Incaffi, in the year 1553; he being then upwards of seventy years of age.[k] A splendid monument was erected to

phian villa, in his beautiful epistle to Franc. Torriano, may be found in Mr. Greswell's account of some of the Latin poets of Italy in the sixteenth century; but perhaps the most exquisite production of Fracastoro is his epistle on the untimely death of his two sons, addressed to Giovan-Battista Torriano, and which, in point of elegance, pathos, and true sublimity, may bear a comparison with any production of the kind, either in ancient or modern times.

[k] "Sed maxime omnium funesta, quamvis non omnino "immatura, mors fuit Hieronymi Fracastorii—qui ad ex- "actam philosophiæ et mathematicarum artium, ac præci- "pue Astronomiæ, quam et doctissimis scriptis illustravit, "cognitionem,

to his memory, in the cathedral of Verona; besides which he was honoured, by a publick decree of the city, with a statue, which was accordingly erected at the common expense. A similar testimony of respect was paid to his memory at Padua, where the statue of Fracastoro, and another of Navagero, were erected by their surviving friend, Giovan-Battista Rannusio.[1] Of the prose compositions



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" cognitionem, summum judicium et admirabile ingenium " attulit ; quo multa ab antiquis aut ignorata aut secus " accepta adinvenit et explicavit." " Obiit in Caphiis suis, " villa amænissima ad Baldi montis radices sita, quo sæpe " ab urbe secedebat, septuagenario major, ex apoplexia, " viii. Eid. sextil." *Thuani, Histor. lib.* xii. i. 430.

[1] The motives of this are beautifully assigned by De Thou, " Ut, qui arcta inter se necessitudine conjuncti " vixerant, et pulcherrimarum rerum scientias ac politiores " literas excoluerant, eodem in loco spectarentur, et a " juventute Patavina universoque Gymnasio quotidie salu- " tarentur." *Ibid.*

Of the numerous testimonies of respect to the memory of Fracastoro, by the scholars of the time, the following lines of Adam Fumani, prefixed to the Giuntine edition of the works of Fracastoro, *Ven.* 1574, 4°. may perhaps be considered as the most elegant :

" Longe vir unus omnium doctissimus,
" *Verona* per quem non Marones Mantuæ,
" Nec nostra priscis invident jam secula,
" Virtute summam consecutus gloriam
" Jam grandis ævo hic conditur FRASTORIUS.

" Ad

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sitions and scientifick labours of Fracastoro, a further account will occur in the sequel of the present work.

Andrea Navagero.

Among the learned friends of Bembo and Fracastoro, who, by their character and writings, did honour to the age, no one held a higher rank than Andrea Navagero. He was born of a patrician family, at Venice, in the year 1483;[m] and from his childhood gave indications of that extraordinary proficiency which he afterwards attained. So retentive was his memory, and so highly was he delighted with the writings of the Latin poets, that whilst yet very young, he was accustomed to recite pieces of great length, which, from his fine voice and correct pronunciation, acquired additional interest. His first instructer was the eminent Antonio Cocci, called *Sabellicus*, and author of the earliest history of Venice; but the assiduous perusal of the ancient authors refined his taste, and improved his judgment much more than the precepts of his teacher; and his profiency was manifested

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" Ad tristem acerbæ mortis ejus nuntium,
" Vicina flevit ora, flerunt ultimæ
" Gentes, periisse musicorum candidum
" Florem, optimarum et lumen artium omnium."

[m] *J. A. Vulpius in vitâ Naugerii, ejusd. op. præf. p.* 10. *Ed. Comino*, 1718.

manifested by his committing to the flames several of his poems, which he had written in his early youth in imitation of the *Sylvæ* of Statius, but of which he could not in his mature estimation approve.[n] On the arrival of Marcus Musurus at Venice, Navagero became one of his most assiduous pupils, and by his indefatigable attention, acquired such a thorough acquaintance with the Greek tongue, as enabled him not only to understand the authors in that language, but to perceive their most refined excellences, and convert them to his use in his own writings.[o] For this purpose, it was his custom, not only to read, but to copy, the works of the authors whom he studied, and this task he had executed more than once, in the writings of Pindar, which he always held in the highest

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[n] This Navagero has himself commemorated in the following lines.

VOTA ACMONIS VULCANO.

"Has, Vulcane, dicat *sylvas* tibi Villicus Acmon;
"Tu sacris illas ignibus ure, pater.
"Crescebant ducta e *Statii* propagine *sylvis*;
"Jamque erat ipsa bonis frugibus umbra nocens.
"Ure simul *sylvas*, terra simul igne soluta
"Fertilior largo fœnore messis eat.
"Ure istas; *Phrygio* nuper mihi consita colle
"Fac, pater, a flammis tuta sit illa tuis."

*Naug. Carm.* xvii. *p.* 191.

[o] *Vulpius in vita Naugerii, p.* 14.

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highest admiration.[p] Not confining himself, however, to the study of languages, and the cultivation of his taste, he repaired to Padua, for the purpose of obtaining instructions in philosophy and eloquence from Pietro Pomponazzo; and it was in that distinguished seminary of learning that he formed connexions of friendship with Fracastoro, Rannusio, the three brothers of the Torriani, and other men of rank and eminence, which continued unbroken throughout the rest of his life. On his return to Venice, he became one of the most able and active supporters of the academy of Aldo Manuzio, and was indefatigable in collecting manuscripts of the ancient authors, several of whose works were published with his emendations and notes, in a more correct and elegant form than they had before appeared.[q] It was, indeed, chiefly by his

[p] "—— Sic delectaris hoc poeta, ut *sæpe* eum tua manu accurate descripseris; puto, ut tibi magis fieret familiaris, tum ut ediscereturà te facilius, et teneretur memoria tenacius. Id quod describendo *Thucydidem* fecit *Demosthenes*, qui, ut Lucianus ait, octies illum descripsit; idque ad suam ipsius utilitatem." *Aldi Manutii Ep. ad Nauger. in Ed. Pindar. Ven.* 1515. 8°.

[q] Among these were the *Orations of Cicero*, composing three volumes of the edition of Cicero in eight volumes, printed at the Aldine press in 1519, and the second volume of the edition of the works of Cicero (printed by the *Juntæ* at Venice, 1534, in 4 vols. fo.) which were edited by Petrus Victorius, under the title, TOMUS SECUNDUS

his exhortations that Aldo was induced, amidst all the calamities of the times, to persevere in his useful undertaking; [r] and the obligations which this great scholar and eminent artist owed to Navagero, are expressed in several dedicatory epistles, addressed to him with a warmth of gratitude and of friendship, that evinces the deep sense which Aldo entertained of his merits and his services. An infirm state of his health, occasioned by incessant study, rendered some relaxation necessary, and Navagero therefore accompanied his great patron D'Alviano to his academy at Pordonone, where he had an opportunity of enjoying once more the society of his friend Fracastoro, [s] and where he

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DUS M. T. ORATIONES HABET, AB ANDREA NAUGERIO, PATRICIO VENETO, SUMMO LABORE AC INDUSTRIA IN HISPANIENSI, GALLICAQUE LEGATIONE, EXCUSSIS PERMULTIS BIBLIOTHECIS, ET EMENDATIORES MULTO FACTAS, ET IN SUAM INTEGRITATEM AD EXEMPLAR CODICUM ANTIQUORUM LONGE COPIOSIUS RESTITUTAS. To which may also be added his *Variæ Lectiones in omnia opera Ovidii*, printed in the Aldine edition of 1516, in three volumes, and again in 1533. These readings are also met with in other editions derived from the Aldine; as in *Ovidius de Tristibus, cum notis Andreæ Naugerii. Lond.* 1583, 12°. *v. Naug. op. Ed. Vulpii*, p. 426.

[r] *Aldi Ep. ad. Nauger. Pindari Ed, præf. Ven.* 1513.

[s] On the reconciliation which took place between Julius II. and the Venetian republick, in the year 1509, and which first broke the formidable league of Cambray, (*v.*

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he some time afterwards delivered publick instructions. The high reputation which he had now acquired, induced the senate to recall him to Venice, and to intrust to him the care of the library of cardinal Bessarion,[t] and the task of continuing the history of the republick of Venice, from the termination of the work of his preceptor Sabellicus.[u] It

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*ante vol.* ii. *chap.* viii. *p.* 93.) Navagero addressed to that pontiff, in terms of the highest commendation, a Latin eclogue, which deserves notice, as well from its intrinsick merit, as from the particularity with which it applies to the events before related.

[t] This collection, which was the foundation of the celebrated library of S. Marco, had in the year 1468, been presented by Bessarion to the Venetians. *v. Life of Lor. de' Medici*, i. 54.

[u] To this work Navagero alludes in the following truly Horatian lines, addressed,

"AD BEMBUM,
"Qui modo ingentes animo parabam,
"*Bembe*, bellorum strepitusque, et arma
"Scribere, hoc vix exiguo male audax,
"Carmine serpo.

"Nempe Amor magnos violentus ausus
"Fregit iratus; velut hic Tonantem,
"Cogit et fulmen trifidum rubenti
"Ponere dextra.

"Sic eat; fors et sua laus sequetur,
"Candidæ vultus *Lalagen* canentem, et
"Purius

It soon, however, appeared, that the talents of Navagero were not confined to the study of literature, but were equally calculated for the service of his country in the most difficult and honourable departments of the state. In the year 1523, after the battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner, he was despatched, as the ambassadour of the republick, to the emperour Charles V. on which occasion he made a journey to Spain, and was absent from his country nearly four years. The abilities and integrity which he displayed in the important negotiations in which the senate was then engaged, had obtained its unlimited confidence, and he had scarcely returned to Venice,[v] when he was

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" Purius claro radiantis astro
" Frontis honores.

" Nota Lesboæ lyra blanda *Sapphus*,
" Notus *Alcæi Lycus*, altiori
" Scripserit quamvis animosum *Homerus*
" Pectine *Achillem*."

[v] On this event he had begun a Latin poem, in which he was interrupted, and of which only the following beautiful lines are preserved:

" Salve, cura Deûm, mundi felicior ora,
" Formosæ *Veneris* dulces salvete recessus;
" Ut vos post tantos animi, mentisque labores,
" Aspicio, lustroque libens! Ut munere vestro,
" Sollicitas toto depello e pectore curas!

" Non

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was sent as ambassadour to Francis I. from whom he met with a reception which conferred equal honour on himself and on that monarch, who well knew how to appreciate men of superiour talents and learning. Soon after his arrival at Blois, where Francis then held his court, Navagero was, however, seized with a fever, the progress of which was so rapid, that from its commencement, no hopes were entertained of his recovery. He died in the year 1529, being then only in the forty-sixth year of his age.[w] Of the cause of the death of Navagero, of his character and acquirements, and of the fate of his writings, a particular account is introduced by Fracastoro, in his treatise *De morbis contagiosis*;[x] which, whilst it records a very singular medical fact, confers equal honour on the characters of both these illustrious scholars. After adverting to a species of putrid fever, which appeared in Italy in the year 1505, and again in 1528, and which was attended with an eruption of efflorescent pustules, Fracastoro observes, that many persons who had left Italy, and travelled into countries where this fever was not before known, had, after their departure, been affected by

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"Non aliis *charites* perfundunt candida lymphis
"Corpora; non alios contexunt serta per agros."

[w] *Vulpius in Vita Nauger. p.* 24.

[x] *Fracastorii op. p.* 87. *Ed. ap. Juntas*, 1574.

by it, as if they had before received the infection of the disease. "This," says he, "happened to An- "drea Navagero, ambassadour from the Venetian "republick to Francis I. who died of this disease "in a country where such a complaint was not "known even by name; a man of such abili- "ties, and such acquirements, that for many "years the literary world has not sustained so great "a loss; for not only was he accomplished in "every branch of useful science, but highly quali- "fied for the service of his country in the most "important concerns. Amidst the most imminent "dangers of the republick, and when all Europe "was embroiled in war, Navagero had scarcely "returned from his embassy to the emperour "Charles V. by whom he was highly esteemed "for his distinguished virtues, than he was sent "as ambassadour to Francis I. The state of affairs "admitted of no delay. The emperour was ex- "pected to arrive in Italy in the course of the "summer to renew the war; and early in the year "Navagero set out with fatal speed, by post "horses for France. Soon after his arrival at "Blois, and after having had a few interviews with "the king, he was, however, seized with the dis- "order that caused his death; an event that occa- "sioned the utmost grief to all men of learning, "to the French nation, and to the king himself, "who was an earnest promoter of literature, and "who gave directions that his obsequies should "be performed with great pomp. His body "being

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"Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt,

Fate leads the willing, drags th' unwilling on.

"The orations of Navagero on the death of D'Al-
"viano, and of the doge Loredano, which are
"distinguished by all the beauty of antiquity, and
"a few poems, which were privately copied by
"his friends, and may be considered as the glean-
"ings of his funeral pile, have, however, been
"published, and will demonstrate the exalted
"genius and great learning of Navagero to all
"future times."

The few pieces to which Fracastoro above refers, were collected together soon after the death of Navagero, and printed in the year 1530, with a short address prefixed, for the most part in the very words of Fracastoro above cited; from which we may reasonably conjecture, that it was he who procured this edition of the writings of his friend, and who superintended its publication. The researches of subsequent times, and particularly the industry of the learned brothers, Giovan-Antonio, and Gaetano Volpi, to whom we are indebted for many valuable editions of the works of the early restorers of literature, have, however, collected a few additional pieces of Navagero, which had before been scattered in various publications, and given to the publick a complete edition of his works.

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works.[y] Among these are the remarks made by Navagero, on his journeys to Spain, and to France, a few Italian poems, which bear the same character of elegant correctness as his Latin writings, and several of his letters, prefixed to his editions of the ancient authors, particularly one, which is addressed to Leo X. exhorting him to undertake an expedition against the Turks. To the credit of Navagero, it may be, with truth, observed, that all his writings are perfectly free from that point and antithesis which is the common subterfuge of inferiour talents, but which true genius spurns with an indignant feeling, similar to that with which a man of integrity rejects the mean arts and indirect advantages of a dishonest trade. Not satisfied, however, with the example afforded his countrymen in his own writings, he gave a striking proof of his aversion to a false and affected taste, by annually devoting to the flames a copy of the works of Martial;[z] whom he probably considered, as

[y] ANDREÆ NAUGERII, PATRICII VENETI, ORATORIS ET POETÆ CLARISSIMI OPERA OMNIA, *quæ quidem magna adhibita diligentia colligi potuerunt. Curantibus Jo. Antonio J. U. D. et Cajetano Vulpiis Bergomensibus Fratribus. Patavii*, 1718. *Excudebat Josephus Cominus Vulpiorum ære, et superiorum permissu.*

[z] *Jovius, ap. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 230. This is also alluded to in the following lines of Jo. Matth. Toscanus.

" Hic

as the chief corrupter of that classical purity which distinguished the writers of the Augustan age.

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From the great names of Fracastoro and Navagero, that of Marc-Antonio Flaminio ought not to be far divided; not only on account of the great similarity of studies and of taste, but of the uninterrupted friendship and affection which subsisted among these distinguished men, whom posterity ought to regard as patterns of human excellence. The family name of Flaminio was *Zarrabini*,[a] which had been exchanged by his father, Gian-Antonio, on his entering into a literary society at Venice, for that of Flaminio. Gian-Antonio was himself a scholar of acknowledged merit, and a professor of belles-lettres in different academies of Italy; but, although he has left favourable specimens

Marc-Antonio Flaminio.

" Hic *Naugerius* ille, *Martialis*
" Lascivi petulantiam perosus,
" Et musas sine fine prurientes,
" Læso cuncta quibus licent pudore,
" Non jam virginibus, sed impudicis.
" — At castas voluit suas Camœnas,
" Hic *Naugerius* esse. sicque amores,
" Cantare, ut tenerum colant pudorem.
" Hunc ergo pueri, puellulæque,
" Crebri volvite, quippe *Martiale*
" Nec doctum minus, et magis pudicum."

[a] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 256.

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cimens of his proficiency both in prose and verse,[b] his own reputation is almost lost in the additional lustre which he derives from that of his son, whose honours he lived many years to enjoy. A short time before the close of the fifteenth century, Gian-Antonio had quitted his native city of Imola, and taken up his residence at Serravalle, where Marc-Antonio was born, in the year 1498.[c] Under the constant care and instructions of the father, the happy disposition and docile genius of the son were so early and so highly cultivated, that when he

[b] *v. Ante, v.* ii. *chap.* ix. *p.* 189. During the wars consequent on the league of Cambray, Gian-Antonio had been despoiled of his property, and driven from his residence at Serravalle, but was relieved by the liberality of Julius II. and of the cardinal Raffaelle Riario. He has left many works, both in prose and verse, some of which have been printed, and of which his twelve books of letters are the most valuable, as they throw considerable light on the state of literature, and afford much particular information respecting the early progress of his son.

[c] It has generally been supposed, that Marc-Antonio was a native of Imola; but Gianagostino Gradenigo, bishop of Ceneda, has clearly shown, that he was born at Serravalle. *v. Lettera di Gradenigo, Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli, tom.* xxiv. *Ven.* 1773. *p.* i. It is, however, admitted, that his father, Gian-Antonio, was born at Imola, whence both he and his son have frequently denominated themselves *Forocornelienses*. The family was originally of Cotignola, where Lodovico Zarrabini, the father of Gian-Antonio, resided. *v. Tirab.* vii. iii. 256.

he had attained the age of sixteen, his father determined to send him to Rome, for the purpose of presenting to the supreme pontiff Leo X. a poem exhorting him to make war against the Turks, and a critical work under the title of *Annotationum Sylvæ*.[d] On this occasion Gian-Antonio addressed a letter to the pope, and another to the cardinal Marco Cornaro; by whom, and by the cardinal of Aragon, Marc-Antonio was introduced to the pontiff, who received him with great kindness, and listened

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[d] "Primus autem illius (Marci-Antonii) a me discessus "non ad finitimam urbem aliquam, sed Romam; neque ad "Antistitem aliquem gregarium, sed totius terrarum orbis "Principem et virum doctissimum, LEONEM X. *Pont. Max.* "ut Epistolam illi nostram de suscipienda expeditione ad- "versus Turcas, elego versu scriptam, et in hac ipsa urbe "cum aliis nostris impressam similibus scriptis, et publi- "catam, redderet; et simul Amplissimo Patri M. Cornelio "Sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata Cardinali Opusculum Sylva- "rum nostrarum, et Epigrammatum illi a me dedicatum "traderet." *Joan. Ant. Flam. Epist. in Op. M. A. Flam. ap. Comin.* 1727. 8°. *p.* 296. From which it might be supposed, that the work entitled *Annotationum Sylvæ* was the production of the father. There is, however, no doubt that it is to be attributed to the son, as appears from a letter of Gian-Antonio, written to the cardinal Cornaro, in which he thus refers to it. "Misi hac de causa M. Antonium "Flaminium, Filium meum, qui et ipse *Sylvarum suarum* "libellos, non insulsum fortasse munusculum, ad ipsum "Pontificem Maximum detulit." A copy of this work yet remains, and is in the possession of the learned Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco, at Venice.

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listened with apparent satisfaction to the compositions which he read. After bestowing on Marc-Antonio distinguished proofs of his liberality, he sent to his father to request that he would permit him to remain at Rome, where he would himself provide him with suitable instructers; but Gian-Antonio, who appears to have attended no less to the morals than to the literary acquirements of his son, probably thought him too young to be released from his paternal guidance, and it is certain, that on this occasion Marc-Antonio did not long reside at Rome. He soon afterwards, however, paid another visit to the pontiff, and was received by him at his villa at Malliana. Leo again expressed himself highly gratified with his young visiter, and promised to remember him on his return to Rome. Accordingly, soon after the return of Leo to the city, he sent for Marc-Antonio, and rewarded him for his uncommon talents and early acquirements, with that liberality which he always showed towards men of learning, at the same time addressing him in the language of the poet,

"Macte nova virtute, puer; sic itur ad astra."[e]

The

[e] *Joan-Anton. Flam. Epist. in Op. M. A. Flamin. p.* 297. To this quotation the pope added, "Video enim te brevi "magnum tibi nomen comparaturum, ac non genitori, et "generi tuo solum, sed et toti Italiæ ornamento futurum." *Ibid.*

The pontiff was also desirous of ascertaining whether the elegance of taste displayed by Flaminio, was accompanied by an equal solidity of judgment; for which purpose he proposed to him several questions, which he debated with him at great length in the presence of some of the cardinals. In the course of this conversation, Flaminio gave such proofs of his good sense and penetration, as equally surprised and delighted all who heard him;[f] in consequence of which the cardinal of Aragon wrote to Gian-Antonio Flaminio a letter of congratulation.[g] It appears to have been the intention of the elder Flaminio, that his son should return to him at Imola, but the kindness and honours bestowed on Marc-Antonio at Rome, induced his father to grant his permisssion that he might remain there; where, by the directions of the pope, he for some time enjoyed the society, and availed himself of the instructions of the celebrated Raffaello Brandolini.[h] This indulgence on the part of his father afforded Flaminio an opportunity of making an excursion to Naples, where he formed a personal acquaintance with Sanazzaro, whom he always highly honoured,

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[f] *Joan-Anton. Flamin. Ep. ut supra. Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 259.

[g] *Ibid.*

[h] This is fully shown from the letters of the elder Flaminio, cited by Mazzuchelli, in his life of Brandolini. *Scrittori d'Italia*, vi. 2019.

CHAP. XVII. honoured, and which was perhaps the principal inducement to him to undertake the journey.[i]

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Æt. 43. In the year 1515, Flaminio accompanied the count Baldassare Castiglione to Urbino, where he continued to reside for some months, and was held in the highest esteem by that accomplished nobleman, for his amiable qualities and great endowments, but particularly for his early and astonishing talents for Latin poetry.[j] The care of his father was

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[i] *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. iii. 259.

[j] In the same year, when Marc-Antonio was scarcely eighteen years of age, he published at Fano, the first specimen of his productions, with a few poems of Marullus, that had not before been printed, under the following title,

MICHAELIS TARCHANIOTAE MARULLI NENIAE. *Ejusdem Epigrammata nunquam aliàs impressa.* M. ANTONII FLAMINII *Carminum libellus. Ejusdem Ecloga Thyrsis.*

At the close,

*Impressum Fani in ædibus Hieronymi Soncini. Idibus Septemb.* M. D. XV.

As this small volume, printed in octavo, is extremely rare, a more particular account of it may not be unacceptable. It is addressed by the editor, Flaminio, in a short dedication, to Achille Philerote Bocchi. The poems of Marullus consist of his Neniæ, or complaint on the loss of his country and the misfortunes of his family; an elegy on

was not, however, yet withdrawn; towards the close of the last mentioned year, he called his son from

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on the death of Giovanni, the son of Pier-Francesco de' Medici; an ode to Charles V. and another *ad Antonium Baldracanum*, with a few epigrams, or short occasional poems. These pieces do not appear, either in the first edition of the works of Marullus, printed at Florence, in 1497, or in the later edition by Cripius, Paris, 1561, and are, perhaps, only to be found in this volume. The poems of Flaminio are dedicated to Lodovico Speranzo, by whose entreaties, it appears, he had selected a few of his pieces to be printed. In this dedication, Flaminio expresses his apprehensions that he may be accused of presumption, in expecting the world will read the poems of a youth, who has yet scarcely attained the eighteenth year of his age. Of these poems, some have been printed, often with variations in the subsequent editions of his works; but several pieces appear there which are not to be found in the edition of Mancurti, published at Padua, by Comino, in 1727, which is considered as the most complete that has hitherto appeared; whence it is probable this early publication of Flaminio was not known to his editors. It is observable that the lines in commendation of the writings of Navagero, in the Comino edition, *p.* 40.

> " Quot bruma creat albicans pruinas
> " Quot tellus Zephyro soluta flores," &c.

are applied in the early edition to the writings of the author's father, Gian-Antonio Flaminio; the above lines being transposed, and the poem ending thus,

> " Tot menses, bone *Flamini*, tot annos
> " Perennes maneant tui libelli."

Among

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. from Urbino, and sent him to Bologna, to attend to the study of philosophy, preparatory to his making choice of the profession which he meant to adopt. Nor was he deterred from this measure by the solicitations of Beroaldo, who proposed on the part of Sadoleti, to associate Marc-Antonio with him in the honourable office of pontifical secretary. The refusal of so respectable and advantageous an employment for a young man on his entrance into publick life, is remarkable, and might induce a suspicion, that either the father or the son did not approve of the morals and manners of the Roman court, or had not been fully satisfied with the conduct of the pontiff; a suspicion that may perhaps receive some confirmation by observing, that Marc-Antonio has not, throughout all his poetical works, introduced the praises or even the name of Leo X. However this may be, it is certain, that after his residence at Bologna, he again returned to Rome, and formed

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Among the pieces that have not been reprinted, are two odes, addressed to *Guido Postumo*, of whom some account will hereafter be given, which display the early talents of the author no less than his other writings. The volume concludes with an eclogue, intended to express the gratitude of the author to the count Baldassare Castiglione, for the favours conferred upon him at Urbino. These pieces, with the dedications or introductory letters by which they are accompanied, throw considerable light on the early life and studies of their author, and deserve to be more generally known.

ed an intimacy with those illustrious scholars who rendered that city the centre of literature and of taste.[k] Without devoting himself to any lucrative profession, he for some years attached himself to the cardinal de' Sauli, whom he accompanied on a journey to Geneva, and enjoyed with him the society of several eminent scholars, who formed a kind of academy at his villa. After the death of the cardinal, Flaminio resided with the prelate Giammatteo Ghiberti, either at Padua, or at his see of Verona, where he secured the friendship of Fracastoro and Navagero; a friendship of the most disinterested and affectionate kind, as appears from many passages in their writings.

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About the close of the year 1538, Flaminio was induced by a long continued and dangerous indisposition, to pay another visit to Naples, where he remained about three years, and by the relaxation which he obtained from his studies, and the alternate enjoyment of the city and the country, recovered his former health.[l] Whilst at Naples he was appointed

[k] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 260.

[l] To this visit, during which Flaminio was honoured by the attention of the Neapolitan nobility and scholars, he adverts with great pleasure in many of his writings; particularly in his beautiful elegy, *Carm. lib.* ii. *Carm.* vii. "Pausilypi colles et candida Mergellina," and in his verses addressed to Francesco Casserti, *lib.* vi. *Carm.* xx.



"——Quid?

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appointed to attend the cardinal Contareni, to the congress held at Worms in 1540; but his infirmities would not permit him to undertake the journey.[m] On quitting Naples he repaired to Viterbo, where the cardinal Reginald Pole then resided as pontifical legate, and where Flaminio lived on terms of the most friendly intimacy with that prelate, who greatly distinguished himself by his munificent patronage of the learned men of his time. He also accompanied the cardinal to the council of Trent, in which the cardinal was appointed to preside as one of the pontifical legates, and where the important office of secretary to the council was offered to Flaminio, who by his declining it, as well as by other parts of his conduct, and the tenour of some of his writings, gave rise to suspicions that he was inclined towards the opinions of the reformers. This imputation has occasioned considerable discussion between the papal and protestant writers, which demonstrate, at least, the earnest desire entertained by each of the contending parties to rank as their adherent a man so distinguished by his accom-

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" —— Quid? ista vestra
" Tam felicia, tam venusta rura,
" Quem non alliciant suo lepore?
" Adde quod mihi reddidere vitam,
" Cum vis tabifica, intimis medullis
" Serpens, lurida membra devoraret."

[m] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 265.

accomplishments, and whose virtue and piety were no less conspicuous than his talents.[n] Certain it is

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[n] A dissertation, expressly on this subject, was written by Schelhornius, and published in the *Amœnitat. Hist. Ecclesiast. vol.* ii. to which Tiraboschi has fully replied in his *Storia della Lett. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 263. From these it appears, that the opinion of the heterodoxy of Flaminio had gained such ground, that his writings were for some time prohibited in the *Index Expurgatorius* of the Roman church, by that bigoted pontiff, Paul IV. (Caraffa) who, it is also said, intended to have the body of the author disinterred, and committed to the flames. Tiraboschi has endeavoured to invalidate this latter assertion, by referring to the instances of friendship which passed between that pontiff, whilst a cardinal, and Flaminio; but if the pope could attempt to blacken the memory of Flaminio by the darkest imputation with which, in the general opinion, it could be affected, there seems no improbability in supposing that he would also display his resentment against his lifeless remains. As to the fact itself, Tiraboschi fully admits that Flaminio had adopted the opinions of the reformers, and this from a motive which confers the highest honour on his character. "Che egli si mostrasse per qual-"che tempo propenso alle opinioni de' Novatori, non può "negarsi. E forse la stessa pietà del Flaminio, e l'austera "e innocente vita, ch'ei conduceva, lo trasse suo malgrado "in que' lacci; perciocchè essendo la riforma degli abusi e "l'emendazion de' costumi il pretesto di cui valeansi gli "Eretici per muover guerra alla Chiesa, non è maraviglia, "che alcuni uomini pii, si lasciassero da tali argomenti "sedurre." The same author, however, afterwards endeavours to show, that Flaminio was reconverted to the true faith, by the exertions of his friend, cardinal Pole, under whose

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is, that no person of his time conciliated in so eminent a degree the respect and affection of all those who were capable of appreciating real merit, and the sincerity of their esteem was often displayed in acts of kindness to him, which did equal honour to his patrons and himself. The important benefits conferred upon him by the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who restored to him his paternal inheritance, of which he had been unjustly deprived, are acknowledged in many parts of his works. The cardinal Ridolfo Pio also increased his possessions, and from the cardinals Sforza and Accolti he received similar marks of attention and esteem.[o]

The

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whose roof he died as a good Catholick, and who boasted of having rendered a great service, not only to Flaminio, but to the Roman church, in detaching him from the cause of the reformers. *v. Tirab.* vii. iii. 263. By what arguments his conviction was effected, does not appear, but the mild and inoffensive spirit of Flaminio was ill qualified to brook the reproaches of his friends, much less to prompt him to undergo the sufferings of a martyr. I shall only further observe, that the lines of Flaminio entitled *De Hieronyme Savonarola, Ed. Comin. p.* 72. were more probably intended to apply to Jerome of Prague, who was actually burnt alive by the council of Constance, whilst the dead body only of Savonarola was consumed by the flames.

"Dum fera flamma tuos, *Hieronyme*, pascitur artus,
"Religio, sanctas dilaniata comas,
"Flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flammæ,
"Parcite: sunt isto viscera nostra rogo."

[o] *Flaminii Carm. lib.* i. *Carm.* 17. 28. 29. &c. ii. 10. v. 2. vii. 42.

The death of Flaminio, which happened at Rome, in the year 1550, occasioned the sincerest grief to all who knew him, and perhaps there was no person of the time, whose loss was so generally and so deservedly lamented. Of the numerous testimonies of affection, of respect, of admiration, and of grief, which were poured out by the scholars of Italy on this occasion, many have been collected by the editors of his works, and to these many others might yet be added from the writings of his contemporaries. But his own productions remain; and it is to these only that posterity will resort for an impartial estimate of his merits. The chief part of these are collected in eight books of Latin poems, and consist of odes, eclogues, hymns, elegies, and epistles to his friends. He appears never to have had the ambition to attempt any work of considerable length; yet if we may be allowed to judge from the vigour with which he always supports himself, he might with safety have ventured on a longer flight. It is difficult to determine in what department of poetry he most excels. In his odes he has caught the true spirit of Horace. His elegies, among which that on his own sickness, and that on his journey to Naples, are preeminently beautiful, may rank with the most finished remains of Tibullus; but if a preference be due to any part of his writings above the rest, it may perhaps be given to his *Hendecasyllabi* and *Iambicks*, in which he displays a simplicity and a pathos which seem to exhibit the real character of his

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His writings.

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his mind. It is in these pieces, not the cold and laboured productions of the head, but written warm from the heart to the heart, that we are to trace that affection to his friends, that gratitude to his benefactors, that engaging tenderness of sentiment, which united with a lively fancy, and exhibited with the utmost grace and elegance of expression, secured to him the love and admiration of all his contemporaries, and will never fail to conciliate a sincere esteem for his memory in all those who enjoy the pleasure of an acquaintance with his works.

Among the particular friends of Fracastoro, Navagero, and Flaminio, many of whom contributed by their own productions to give additional lustre to the literature of the age, may be enumerated the three brothers of the Capilupi, Lelio, Ippolito, and Camillo of Mantua, all of whom distinguished themselves by their talents for Latin poetry, no less than by their various other accomplishments;[p] Trifone Benzio of Assisi, an Italian poet,

[p] Their works were united together and published in 1540. Many of them are also inserted in the *Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. vol.* iii. Flaminio has addressed to them a copy of verses, accompanying some of his poems, in which he denominates them,

"Fratres optimi et optimi poetæ."

*Flamin. lib.* v. *Cam.* 53.

poet, who by the elegance of his writings, and the philosophick firmness of his mind, alleviated the misfortune of his personal defects;[q] Achille Bocchi, called *Philerote*, deeply skilled in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and well known by his elegant book of Symbols,[r] and by his other poems; Gabriello



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[q] *Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital. tom.* ii. *par.* ii. *p.* 909. *Tirab.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 194. Flaminio, contrasting the personal deformity of his friend Benzio with the accomplishments of his mind, addresses him,

"O dentatior et lupis et apris
"Et setosior hirco olente, et idem
"Tamen deliciæ novem dearum
"Quæ silvam Aoniam colunt," &c.

*Carm. lib.* v. *carm.* 50

[r] First printed at Bologna, 1555, and again in 1574. The prints in this work are designed and engraved by the celebrated artist, Giulio Bonasone. Their merit is various, but many of them are very beautiful; a circumstance which may be explained by a passage in Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, ii. 72, where we find that Bonasone frequently copied his ideas from Michel Agnolo and Albert Durer, and that he procured designs from Parmigiano and Prospero Fontana; the latter of whom was an intimate friend of Bocchi. With this information, it would not be difficult to allot these designs to their respective masters. In the second edition, the prints are retouched by Agostino Caracci, who has also engraved the first symbol from a design of his own; but, notwithstanding the great merit of this artist, the first edition of this scarce work is to be preferred. The pieces addressed by Flaminio to Bocchi may be found in *lib.* i. *Carm.* 34, 43. *lib.* ii. *Carm.* 29.

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briello Faerno, whose Latin fables are written with such classical purity, as to have given rise to an opinion, that he had discovered, and fraudulently availed himself of some of the unpublished works of Phedrus;[s] Onorato Fascitelli,[t] and Basilio Zanchi,[u] two Latin poets, whose writings are deservedly ranked among the best productions of the age; Benedetto Lampridio, no less to be esteemed for the services rendered by him to the cause of literature, as an excellent preceptor, than for his Latin poems, in which he is considered as the first who emulated with any degree of success the flights of Pindar;[v] Adamo Fumani, of whom many productions

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[s] *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 249.

[t] A native of Isernia, and bishop of Isola. Many of his poems are annexed to the edition of Sanazzaro by Comino, Padua, 1731. He is denominated by Broukhusius, "Poeta purus ac nitidus;" a character which is not superiour to his merits.

[u] A native of Bergamo, who resided at Rome during the pontificate of Leo X. and whose poems were published at Bergamo, in 1747, with the life of the author, by Serassi. Many of them are also inserted in the *Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.* and may bear a comparison with the finest productions of the times. *v. Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 224.

[v] *Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 221.

ductions remain, in Greek, Latin, and Italian, and whose poem on the rules of logick in five books, is mentioned by Tiraboschi in terms of the highest applause; [w] and the three brothers of the Torriani, who although not celebrated by their own writings, were eminent promoters of literature, and maintained a strict intimacy with most of the learned men of the time. [x]



It would be unjust to the characters of the illustrious scholars before mentioned, and particularly of Fracastoro, Flaminio, Navagero, and Vida, to close this brief account, without adverting to some circumstances which apply to them in common, and which confer the highest honour on their memory. Although they devoted their talents to the cultivation of the same department of literature, yet so far were they from being tainted in the slightest degree with that envy which has too often infected men of learning, and led them to regard the productions of their contemporaries with a jaundiced eye, that they not only passed their lives in habits

[w] This poem, and other works of Fumani, are printed with the works of Fracastoro, in the second edition, by Comino, two volumes quarto. *Patav.* 1739.

[x] *v. Fracastor. Dialog. cui tit. Turrius, sive de Intellectione, in op. p.* 121. *Ed. Giunti,* 1574. *Ejusd. Carm.* ii. iii. viii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. *in op. tom.* i. *Navageri, veris descriptio, in op. Comin. p.* 199. *Flaminii, Carm. passim.*

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habits of the strictest friendship, but admired and enjoyed the literary productions of each other, with a warmth and a sincerity which were at once a proof of the correctness of their judgment, and of the liberality of their minds. This admiration they were not more ready to feel, than to express; and their works abound with passages devoted to the commemoration of their friendship, and to the mutual commendation of their talents, and writings. This example extended to their contemporaries and humanized and improved the character of the age; insomuch that the scholars of the time of Leo X. were not more superiour to those of the fifteenth century, in the proficiency made in liberal studies, than in the urbanity of their manners, the candour of their judgment, and the generous desire of promoting the literary reputation of each other. Hence it is further to be observed, that these authors have never dipped their pens in the gall of satire, or degraded their genius by combining its efforts with those of malignity, of jealousy, of arrogance, or of spleen. Not confining their talents to the cloistered recesses of learned indolence, they obtained by their conduct in publick life the esteem and confidence of their fellow-citizens; whilst their hours of leisure were devoted to the cultivation of the severer sciences, and enlivened by those poetical effusions to which they are now indebted for the chief part of their fame. The intrinsick merit and classical purity of their writings are rendered yet more estimable by the strict attention to decency

cy and moral propriety, which they uniformly display; and which, added to the consideration of the ease and simplicity with which they are written, might justly entitle them to a preference even to the remains of many of the ancient authors, in promoting the education of youth.



Latin poetry cultivated at Rome.

In no part of Italy, however, was the cultivation of Latin poetry attended to with such assiduity as in the city of Rome, to which place almost all the learned men from every part of Europe occasionally resorted, and where many of them fixed their constant residence. Among those who appear to have enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour and confidence of the supreme pontiff, we may particularly distinguish Guido Postumo Silvestri, of Pesaro; who was born in that city of a noble or a respectable family, in the year 1479.[y] His father Guido Silvestri having died before the birth of his son, his mother gave to her offspring the appellation of her deceased husband, with the addition of that of *Postumo*. Of four sons Postumo was therefore the

Guido Postumo Silvestri.

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[y] The particulars of his life have been collected by the Cav. Domenico Bonamini, under the title of MEMORIE ISTORICHE *di Guido Postumo Silvestre Pesarese*, and published in the *Nuova Raccolta d' Opuscoli, tom.* XX. *Venez.* 1770. To this tract, and to the writings of Postumo, I am chiefly indebted for the particulars given of him in this work.

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the youngest, and was the only one to whom his mother gave suck; which maternal office she was it seems induced to undertake, because she imagined that her son had, before his birth, uttered certain lamentable sounds, which she considered as prognosticks of the death of his father; a circumstance to which he has himself alluded in his writings.[z] His early education was, fortunately for him, superintended by Gian-Francesco Superchio, Proposto of the cathedral of Pesaro, better known by the name of Philomuso,[a] and by Gabriel Foschi, afterwards appointed by Julius II. archbishop of Durazzo.[b] He then repaired to the academy of Padua, where having pursued his studies during two years, he married at the early age of

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[z] "Hoc erat, hoc quod adhuc matris rude semen in alvo
"Tot querulas narrant sæpe iterasse sonos.
"Infelix! jam tum casum genitoris adempti,
"Et flebam interitus fata sinistra mei."
*Eleg. ad Tuscum.*

[a] Author of the congratulatory verses to Leo X. on his appointment to the rank of cardinal, and afterwards on his elevation to the pontificate. *v. ante, vol.* i. *chap.* i. *p.* 66. *vol.* ii. *chap.* x. *p.* 201.

[b] To this, his early preceptor, Postumo has addressed his affectionate and pathetick elegy, entitled, "Ad Fuscum, "Episcopum Comaclensem," *Eleg. lib.* i. *p.* 10, in which he acknowledges his kindness, and laments his own misfortunes and imprisonment.

of nineteen, a lady of whom he was deeply enamoured, and whom he has frequently celebrated in his writings under the name of *Fannia*.[c] The death of his beloved consort, which happened within the short space of three years after her marriage, whilst it appears to have affected him with sincere sorrow, afforded him an additional topick for the exercise of his poetical talents.[d] He now quitted the city of Padua, and engaged in the service of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, on whose behalf he interested himself with great warmth, when that prince was attacked by Cesar Borgia, soon after his divorce from his wife Lucretia, the daughter of Alexander VI. On this occasion, Postumo expressed his resentment against the family of Borgia in some sarcastick verses; in consequence of which he was soon afterwards deprived of his possessions, and might have considered himself as sufficiently fortunate in having escaped with his life from the effects of their resentment.[e] On his

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[c] *Elegia lib.* ii. *p.* 46. 47. 53. *&c.*

[d] *Ad illust. Comitem. Hannibalem Rang. Prorempticon. El. lib.* i. *p.* 24.

[e] It is observable, that in one of the poems of Postumo, intended to excite the citizens of Pesaro to resist the arms of Borgia, the author refers, not only to the murder of the duke of Gandia, by Cesar Borgia, and to the supposed incestuous intercourse of this family, but to other charges not alluded to, as far as I have discovered, by any other writer

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his expulsion from his native place, he repaired to Modena, where he was appointed preceptor to the young nobles of the family of Rangone, Giovanni, Alessandro, Annibale, and Ercole, the sons of Bianca, daughter of Giovanni Bentivoglio, of Bologna; and by her recommendation he was nominated as one of the professors of the celebrated academy of Bologna, from whence he was, however, soon afterwards expelled, in consequence of the dissensions between the family of Bentivoglio, and the pontiff Julius II.[f] Having taken an active part in the wars which desolated Italy, and in which he obtained great credit by his military talents, he was,

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writer, which are, however, sufficiently refuted by their own enormity.

" Pellite vi vires, ferrumque arcessite ferro,
" Inque feros enses obvius ensis eat.
" Aspera dux vobis indixit prælia, cujus
" Fraterna potuit cæde madere manus."

* * * *

" Sede sub hac non est matri sua filia pellex,
" Concubuitve suo noxia Myrrha patri;
" Hic neque pro nato victurum in secula torrem
" Testiadem flammis imposuisse ferunt;
" Solve Thyesteæ fugiens fera pocula mensæ,
" Pone domum celeres ire coegit equos.
" Monstra nurus nostræ non progenuere, tulitque
" De bove semivirum, de cane nulla canem."

*Eleg. lib.* ii. *p.* 33.

[f] *Bonamini, Memorie di Guid. Postumo. p.* 13.

was, in the year 1510, whilst commanding a troop of Bolognese, in the service of the Bentivoli, made prisoner by the papal troops, and committed by Julius II. to close confinement. As Postumo had long been the avowed adversary of the Roman see, and had attacked the character of the pontiff in his writings, he conceived himself on this occasion to be in great danger, and endeavoured to mitigate the anger of the pope in a supplicatory elegiack poem, which yet remains, and which probably obtained him his liberty.[g]

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From this time the life of Postumo appears to have been more tranquil. Having throughout the whole course of his studies paid particular attention to medicine, he was in the year 1510, appointed by the duke of Ferrara, professor of that science, and of philosophy, in the university of Ferrara, where he remained about six years.[h] This situation he probably quitted for the purpose of superintending the education of Guidubaldo, the infant son of Francesco Maria duke of Urbino; it appearing, that on the attack made upon the territories of that prince by Leo X. Postumo was sent with his young charge to the fortress of S. Leo, as to a place

[g] *Ad Julium Secundum, Pont. ut subjectis et victis parcat hostibus. Eleg. lib.* i. *fi.* 15.

[h] *Bonamini, Memorie Istoriche, fi.* 17.

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place of perfect safety. Of this fortress it has been suggested that Postumo held the chief command, when it was captured, in the year 1517, by the joint efforts of the pontifical and Florentine troops; but of this the evidence is too slight to be relied on.[i] It is, however, highly probable that he was here made a prisoner, since we find him in the same year at Rome; but in whatever character he first made his appearance there, it is certain that he was treated by Leo X. with particular attention and kindness, which he has endeavoured to repay by recording the praises of that pontiff in many parts of his works.[j] Among these commendatory

[i] Bonamini has founded this opinion on the following lines of Postumo, in his *Epicedium* on the death of his mother.

"Creditus hoc cum ipso est saxo mihi regius infans
"Guidus Juliades, qui quamquam mitis, et ore
"Blandus, ut ex vultu possis cognoscere matrem,
"Patrem animis tamen, et primis patruum exprimit an-
"nis."

But this is contradicted by the historical evidence of Leoni, who informs us, that the defence of this fortress was intrusted to Sigismondo Varano, who, on account of his youth, was assisted by Bernardino Ubaldino, and Battista da Venafro. *Leoni, vita di Fran. Maria Duca D'Urbino, lib.* ii. *f.* 183. *et v. ante, vol.* iii. *chap.* xiv. *f.* 109.

[j] "Guido Posthumus, Pisaurensis lepido et comi argu-
"toque ingenio poeta, quum Elegias, et variis numeris
"carmina factitaret, in aula LEONIS conspicuus fuit. Pa-
"tebat

mendatory pieces, the elegiack poem in which he compares the happiness enjoyed under the pontificate of Leo X. with the wretched state of Italy, under his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II. is deserving of particular notice. By the generosity of Leo X. Postumo was enabled to restore his family mansion at Pesaro to its former splendour; a circumstance which he has not failed to record in his writings. In the amusements of the chase, of which Leo so eagerly partook, Postumo was his frequent associate, and one of the most finished poems of this author is devoted to commemorate the various incidents which attended an excursion made by the pontiff to his villa at Palo, for the purpose of enjoying this amusement, on which occasion he was accompanied by the foreign ambassadours, and the prelates and nobles of his court. The tranquillity and happiness which Postumo now enjoyed, were, however, interrupted by the infirm state of his health, which some of his contemporaries attributed to the luxurious banquets of which he partook in the pontifical palace,[k] but which others have supposed to have

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"tebat enim ea liberaliter, meridianis præsertim horis, "quum citharædi cessarent, his omnibus qui eruditæ sua- "vitatis oblectamenta ad ciendam hilaritatem intulissent." *Jov. Elogia.* lxix.

[k] "Præstat nonnihil in Elegis Guidus Posthumus Pisau- "rensis; ausus ille aggredi phalæcios et heroicos, parum

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have been the effects of his military fatigues, on a constitution naturally weak.[1] In hopes of deriving some advantage from change of air, he retired to the pleasant villa of Capranica, in company with his former pupil, the cardinal Ercole Rangone, whence he addressed to Leo X. an elegiack poem which is conjectured to be the last of his productions; as he died at this place only a short time before the pontiff, in the year 1521.[m]

His writings.

Some time after the death of Postumo, his writings were, at the instance of the cardinal Rangone, collected by his pupil Lodovico Siderostomo, and published at Bologna, in 1524, with a dedication from the editor to Pirro Gonzaga, protonotary of the Roman see. The extreme rarity of

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" utrumque rectè; sapientiæ et medicinæ studia amplexa-
" tus, nihilo plus quam in poetica profecit, secutus convi-
" via, et Regum convictus, unde infirmam atque ægram
" valetudinem contraxit." *Gyrald. de poet. suorum. temp. in Opt.* ii. 538.

1 *Bonamini. Mem. Istoriche, p.* 22.

[m] Tebaldeo honoured the memory of Postumo with the following epitaph.

" Posthumus hic situs est; ne dictum hoc nomine credas
" In lucem extincto quod patre prodierit;
" Mortales neque enim talem genuere parentes,
" Calliopeia fuit mater, Apollo pater."

*Jov. Elog.* lxix.

of this volume, of which very few copies are known to exist, has given rise to conjectures, that the edition was suppressed by some of those persons in power who found themselves attacked by the satirical and pungent style of the author; nor is it unlikely that this circumstance may be attributed to the freedom with which he had treated the Roman pontiffs who preceded Leo X.[n] Of the merit of his writings very different opinions have been entertained. That they are to be ranked with the polished productions of Fracastoro, of Vida, and of Flaminio, cannot indeed be asserted; but they frequently exhibit passages of considerable merit, and are, on the present occasion, entitled to particular notice, as having preserved to us many circumstances of the private life and character of Leo X.

Among those who contributed by their wit and vivacity to the amusement of the pontiff, in his hours

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[n] This volume is entitled,

GUIDI POSTHUMI SILVESTRIS PISAURENSIS
ELEGIARUM
LIBRI II.
CUM GRATIA ET
PRIVILEGIO.

At the close,

*Impressum Bononiæ per Hieronymum de Benedictis Bibliopolam Bononiensem Anno Domini* M.D.XXIV. *Calen. Jul.*

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hours of levity, was Giovanni Mozzarello, a native of Mantua; but Leo had sufficient discernment to perceive, that Mozzarello, although very young, possessed superiour talents, which amidst his apparent negligence, he had cultivated with uncommon application. By his cheerful and friendly disposition, and the facility and elegance which he displayed in his Latin and Italian writings, he conciliated in an eminent degree the favour of almost all the eminent scholars who then adorned the Roman court.[o] After having for some time observed his character, and experienced his attachment, Leo removed him from the dissipation of the city, and appointed him governour of the fortress of Mondaino, the income of which office afforded him an ample competency, with sufficient leisure for the prosecution of his studies.[p] In this situation he undertook

Giovanni Mozzarello.

[o] Bembo, writing to Ottaviano Fregoso, denominates him, "Magnæ spei adolescens, ut scis, aut etiam majoris "quam quod scire possis. Magis enim magisque sese in "dies comparat, cum ad mores optimos, et ad omnem vir-"tutem, tum ad poetices studia, adquæ natus præcipue "videtur." *Ep. Fam. lib.* v. *Ep.* vii.

[p] "Mutius Arelius Mantuanus, magno et eleganti ju-"venis ingenio, lingua prius nostri temporis Italica sese "exercuit; mox latinam affectans jam adultus, brevi admo-"dum temporis curriculo magnum poetam professus est; "quam juvenis promptitudinem admiratus Leo X. ne tali "deesset ingenio, arci eum Mondulphiæ præfecit, quem "locum Arelius studiis suis necessaria ubertim suppedi-"taturum arbitrabatur." *Valerian. de Literator. infel. lib.* i. *p.* 34.

undertook an epick poem, entitled *Porsenna*, which he was probably prevented from terminating by an untimely and calamitous death; having been found, after he had been sought for in vain upwards of a month, suffocated, with his mule, at the bottom of a well;[q] a circumstance which confirmed the suspicions before entertained, that his death was occasioned by the barbarity and resentment of those persons over whom he was appointed to preside. This event affected his numerous friends with real sorrow; and Bembo in particular, has, in several letters to the cardinal da Bibbiena, lamented his fate in terms of the warmest affection, and the sincerest regret. Under the name of *Mutio Arelio*, by which he chose to distinguish himself, Mozzarello produced several works, some of which are yet preserved in the Italian libraries,[r] whilst others, as well Latin as Italian, have been published in different collections, and are entitled to no inconsiderable share of approbation.[s]

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The

[q] *Valer. ut supra.*

[r] In the ducal library of Modena is a work of Mozzarello, written by him whilst very young, in the manner of the Arcadia of Sanazzaro, and dedicated to Elizabetta Gonzaga, dutchess of Urbino. *v. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vol.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 233.

[s] Ariosto has immortalized him, by enumerating him among the great scholars of the age.

"Uno

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The efforts of the Italian *Improvvisatori* were emulated by the extemporary recitations of the Latin poets; and when Leo was not detained by the correct and classical productions of Vida, of Bembo, of Fracastoro, or of Flaminio, he might listen with satisfaction to the spontaneous effusions of Brandolini, of Morone, or of Querno, who often attended him during his convivial entertainments and intervals of leisure, and poured out their verses on such subjects as the occasion supplied, or were suggested to them by the pontiff; who hesitated not at some times to lay aside his dignity, and take a part himself in the entertainments.[t] Nor ought we to conclude, as it has too generally been supposed, that these were always the illiterate efforts of men without talents and without education. Although recited extempore, it was required

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" Uno elegante Castiglione, e un culto
" Mutio Arelio."

*Orl. Fur. Cant.* 42. *st.* 87.

[t] " Namque ad mensam accumbere fere numquam " visus est (Leo X.) nisi illustriorum poetarum corona cir- " cumseptus, quos subitariis carminibus quamlibet rem " propositam vicissim persequi jubebat; quo honestissimi " solatii genere et ipse mirum, inquam, in modum afficie- " batur, et convivarum pascebat animos, exemplo Attici, " apud quem nunquam sine aliqua lectione cenatum legi- " mus; ut non minus animo, quam ventre convivæ delec- " tarentur." *Foliazzi, in vita Raph. Brandolini. p.* 47. *Ed. Ven.* 1753.

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Raffaelle Brandolini.

quired by the pontiff, that the verse should not only be applicable, but correct, and Brandolini has in particular left several works, which prove him to have been a man of real learning.[u] To the favours conferred upon him at Naples by Charles VIII. in the year 1495, we have before had occasion to refer,[v] and he appears to have attached himself to the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici before his elevation to the pontificate.[w] Soon after that event Brandolini took up his residence at Rome, where he had apartments allotted him in the pontifical palace, and acquired in an eminent degree the favour and friendship of the pope.[x] These obligations

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[u] The *Brandolini* were of a noble family of Florence, and were distinguished at the close of the fifteenth century by two men of considerable literary eminence, *Aurelio* and *Raffaelle*, each of whom was known by the denomination of *Lippo*, or *Lippus Florentinus*. Of the former of these writers, who died in the year 1497, a full account may be found in Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*, vi. 2013, and a Latin poem, which does honour to his talents, is given in the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, *vol.* ii. *appendix*, *p.* 12.

[v] *Vol.* i. *chap.* iv. *p.* 325.

[w] He collected together some of the works of his relation Aurelio; one of which, entitled *De comparatione Reipublicæ et Regni*, he dedicated to the Card. de' Medici, afterwards Leo X. in an address which contains several curious particulars of the Medici family.

[x] On this account he is denominated by Gianantonio Flaminio,

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obligations he has in some degree repaid in his elegant dialogue entitled Leo, to which we have had frequent occasion to refer in the course of the present work,[y] and where the author has preserved many curious particulars respecting that pontiff, and thrown considerable light on the general history of the times.

Andrea Marone.

Andrea Marone, another favourite attendant of Leo X. was a native of Brescia, and had passed some part of his youth in the court of Ferrara, under the protection of the cardinal Ippolito d' Este. On the journey which the cardinal undertook into Hungary, Marone expressed a desire of accompanying him, and on his being refused, he quitted

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Flaminio, *Oculus Pontificis*, although Brandolini was himself, in fact, nearly deprived of sight. It has already been noticed that, at the desire of the pontiff, Brandolini gave instructions to the celebrated Marc-Antonio Flaminio, the son of Gian Antonio, *v. ante p.* 374, to which it may be added, that the father has, on many occasions, expressed his satisfaction that his son had obtained the assistance of so accomplished a tutor; who is said to have treated his pupil with as much kindness and affection as if he had been his own offspring. *v. J. A. Flamin. Op. ap. Mazzuch. Scrittori d' Ital. tom.* vi. *p.* 2019.

[y] This work was preserved in MS. until the year 1753, when it was published at Venice, by Francesco Fogliazzi, Doctor of Laws, accompanied by a life of the author, and copious and learned notes.

quitted Ferrara and repaired to the court of Rome.[z] The facility and promptitude with which Marone expressed himself in Latin verse on any subject that could be proposed to him, surprised and delighted all his auditors. His recitals were accompanied by the musick of his viol, and as he proceeded, he seemed continually to improve in facility, elegance, enthusiasm, and invention. The fire of his eyes, the expression of his countenance, the rising of his veins, all bespoke the emotions with which he was agitated, and kept his hearers in suspense and astonishment.[a] Having been desired, at a solemn entertainment given by the pontiff to several of the ambassadours of foreign powers,

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[z] *Calcagnini Carm. p.* 172. *ap. Tirab. Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 211.

[a] "Is, cum summa eruditorum admiratione, ex tempore, ad quam jusseris quæstionem, Latinos versus variis modis et numeris fundere consuevit. Audax profecto negotium, ac munus impudentiæ, vel temeritatis plenum; nisi id a natura, impetu prope divino, mira felicitas sequeretur. Fidibus et cantu musas evocat, et quum semel conjectam in numeros mentem alacriore spiritu inflaverit, tanta vi in torrentis morem citatus fertur, ut fortuita et subitariis tractibus ducta, multum ante provisa, et meditata carmina videantur. Canenti defixi exardent oculi; sudores manant; frontis venæ contumescunt; et quod mirum est, eruditæ aures, tanquam alienæ et intentæ, omnem impetum profluentium numerorum exactissima ratione moderantur." *Jov. in Elog.* LXXII.

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powers, to deliver extempore verses on the league which was then forming against the Turks, he acquitted himself in such a manner as to obtain the applause of the whole assembly,[b] and the pope immediately afterwards presented him with a benefice in the diocese of Capua. On the celebration of the feast of Cosmo and Damiano, the tutelar saints of the family of Medeci, a subject was proposed by the pope, on which all those who aspired to the character of extempore Latin poets, were to display their talents, and contend for superiority. Notwithstanding many learned competitors appeared, the prize was adjudged to Marone; but the circumstance that conferred on him the highest honour, was, that, on this occasion, Brandolini was one of his unsuccessful rivals.[c] Of

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[b] Jovius, who relates this incident, has preserved the commencement of the verses recited by Marone.

"Infelix Europa, diu quassata tumultu
"Bellorum."

[c] "Celebrabatur magnificentissimo apparatu Mediceo-
"rum Cosmiana solemnitas, quam in magni Cosmi proavi
"memoriam Leo X. quotannis celebrandam statuerat.
"Itaque ad illius celebritatis diem honestandum plurimi
"fama celebriores Poetæ convivio intererant, qui proposita
"de more argumenta referebant ex tempore; verum cum
"*Andreas* quidam *Maro*, magni promptique vir ingenii,
"omnes quasi elingues fecisset, cum Lippo nostro congredi
"a pontifice est jussus; et cum valide utrimque certatum
"esset, Lippum tandem victum cessisse ferunt." *Fogliazzi, in vita Raph. Brandolini, p.* 48.

Of the Latin poetry of Marone, very few specimens have been preserved;[d] but the commendations bestowed upon his extemporary effusions, by Jovius, Valerianus, and others, may be admitted as a sufficient proof of his extraordinary endowments, and of the wonderful effects which they were accustomed to produce upon the learned audience by which he was generally surrounded.[e] CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43.

The arch-poet, Camillo Querno, was also an extempore reciter of Latin verse, and his talents in this department have met with high commendation from Camillo Querno.

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[d] Two Latin epigrams of Marone, which do no discredit to his talents, are prefixed to the singular book of Francesco Colonna, entitled LA HYPNEROTOMACHIA DI POLIPHILO, printed by Aldus, in 1499, and again in 1545, of which a full account may be found in the Menagiana, *tom.* iv. *p.* 70.

[e] "Quid si illum audieris, velut sodales
"Octo audivimus, optimum sodalem!
"Nos audivimus, audit hunc et omnis
"Doctorum manus in dies, canentem
"Mille ex tempore carmina erudita;
"Quis nil sit lutulentum, inexpolitum,
"Nil absurdum, et inane, nil hiulcum;
"Tanquam Virgilii mora, et labore,
"Tanquam tempore culta sub novenni."

*Pier. Valerian. ad Dantem* iii. *Aligerum. Hexam, &c. p.* 127.

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from some of his contemporaries;[f] whilst others have attributed the applauses which he received rather to his unblushing assurance, than to his extraordinary merits.[g] On the first arrival of Querno at Rome, he brought with him from Monopoli, in the kingdom of Naples, of which place he was a native, an epick poem entitled *Alexias*, consisting of twenty thousand verses. With this and his lyre he presented himself at the literary meetings of the Roman scholars, who soon perceived that he was well qualified to afford them a rich fund of entertainment. A day was appointed on which Querno should recite his poem, for which purpose his auditors repaired to a small island in the Tiber. Here he alternately drank and sang, and after he had proved himself equally qualified for either of these tasks, a crown of a new kind was prepared for him, interwoven with the leaves of vine, of cabbage, and of laurel, which was immediately placed on his head, and he was saluted by his companions with the title of *Archipoeta*.[h] This incident

[f] Particularly by Fr. Arsilli, in his poem *de Poetis Urbanis*, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to refer.

[g] *Gyraldi de Poet. suorum temp.*

[h] "Salve brassica virens corona
"Et lauro, Archipoeta, pampinoque,
"Dignus principis auribus *Leonis*."
*Jov. in Elog.* lxxxii.

incident soon reached the ears of the pontiff, who was highly delighted with it, and desired that the arch-poet might be introduced to him without delay. From this time he became a frequent attendant on the convivial entertainments of the pope, who usually sent him a portion from his table, which he consumed with a voracity equal to that of the heroes of Homer; but the wine was brought to him only on the condition of his reciting a certain number of stanzas, and if he made an errour, either in sense or in measure, it was mixed with a due proportion of water.[i] On some occasions Leo is said to have amused himself with replying to Querno. Of this, instances have been preserved, which if authentick, sufficiently show, that in the extempore recitation of Latin verse, the pontiff possessed a facility not inferiour to that with the display of which in others he was himself so highly delighted.[j]

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In

[i] On one of these mortifying occasions, Querno is said to have turned towards the pontiff, with the cup in his hand, and to have addressed him in these Leonine verses:

"In cratere meo Thetis est conjuncta Lyæo
"Est Dea juncta Deo; sed Dea major eo."

*Foresti Mappamondo Istorico, tom.* iii.

[j] Of this the following specimen has frequently been quoted. Querno, complaining of his laborious office, exclaimed,

Archi-

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Gazoldo and Britonio.

In the same class with Querno may be placed Giovanni Gazoldo and Girolamo Britonio, both of whom aspired to the character of extemporary Latin poets, and if they failed in obtaining the applause, frequently provoked the laughter of the pope and his attendants. These exhibitions, were, however, carried sometimes beyond the bounds of jocularity. Gazoldo is said to have received a reward for his bad verses in a serious bastinado, bestowed upon him by the orders of the supreme pontiff, and the arch-poet was so disfigured by a wound given him in the face, by some person who took offence at his intemperance and gluttony, that he was deterred from attending the banquets of the pontiff so frequently

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"Archipoeta facit versus pro mille poetis."

To which Leo instantly replied,

"Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit."

Querno, who found some reenforcement necessary, shortly afterwards subjoined,

"Porrige quod faciant mihi carmina docta: Falernum."

But Leo refused; and added, as a reason,

"Hoc enim enervat debilitatque pedes."

In which it has been supposed that he alluded to the gout, with which Querno is said to have been afflicted; but he certainly meant also to apply the word *pedes* to the *feet* of the verse, which were not likely to be improved by an additional quantity of wine.

frequently as he had before been accustomed to do.[k] Several other persons are mentioned by Jovius as having contributed to the hilarity of the pontiff in his festive hours, among whom was Giovan-Francesco, one of the sons of Poggio Bracciolini.[l] They were, however, more distinguished by their devotion to the pleasures of the table, than by their intellectual endowments; and the frugal Batavian, Adrian VI. who, by an extraordinary combination of circumstances, succeeded Leo X. in the pontifical chair, was astonished at the luxury of his predecessor, and particularly at the expenses incurred in *peacock sausages*, which seem to have been



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[k] Of these authors Giraldi thus expresses himself at the close of his dialogue *De Poetis suor. temp. in op. p.* 547, "Si hujusmodi lurcones verius quam poetas vobis afferrem, ingratum potius quam gratum arbitrarer me factu-rum. An nescitis Gazoldum sæpius, ob ineptos versus et claudicantes, male mulctatum à Leone flagris, et fabulam omnibus factum? Archipoetam verò immania ingurgitantem pocula a ganeone Alex. auribus et pæne naribus deformatum? Unde nunc parcius Pontificis mensem adit. * * Cum quibus et Hieronymus Britonius posset adscribi, de quo notissimum illud Iambicum Baptist. Sangæ extat, et legitur,

*Prætor graviscas mittitur Britonius.*" &c.

*et v. Mazzuchelli Scrittori d' Ital. vol.* vi. *p.* 2112.

[l] *v. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, chap.* xi. *p.* 483.

CHAP. XVII. 1518. been a favourite dish with these voracious frequenters of the pontifical table.[m]

Æt. 43. Baraballo di Gaeta. But the most remarkable instance of folly and of absurdity is preserved to us in the account given of Baraballo, abate of Gaeta, one of that unfortunate, but numerous class, who, without the talent, possess the inclination for writing poetry, and who, like the rest of his brethren, was perfectly insensible of his own defects. The commendations ironically bestowed on his absurd productions, had, however, raised him to such importance in his own opinion, that he thought himself another Petrarca, and, like him, aspired to the honour of being crowned in the Capitol. This afforded too favourable an opportunity for amusement to be neglected by the pontiff and his attendants; and the festival of SS. Cosmo and Damiano was fixed upon as the day for gratifying the wishes of the poet. In order

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[m] "Mire quoque favit Pogio seni, Pogii historici filio, "itemque Moro nobili a gulæ intemperantia articularibus "doloribus distorto, et Brandino equiti, Marianoque san- "nioni cucullato, facetissimis helluonibus, et in omni ge- "nere popinalium delitiarum eruditissimis. Nam inter "alia portenta insanientis eorum gulæ, lucanicas concisis "pavonum pulpis farctas commenti fuerant: quod obsonii "genus, mox successor Hadrianus, vir Batavæ frugali- "tatis, mirabundus expavit, quum sumptuarias rationes "Leonis inspiceret. Verum festivissimis eorum facetiis, et "perurbanis scommatibus, magis quam ullis palati leno- "ciniis oblectabatur." *Jov. in vita Leon. x. lib. iv. fo. 85.*

order to add to the ridicule, it was resolved that the elephant, which had lately been presented to the pontiff by the king of Portugal, should be brought out and splendidly decorated, and that Baraballo, arrayed in the triumphal habit of a Roman conqueror, should mount it, and be conveyed in triumph to the Capitol. The preparations on this occasion were highly splendid and expensive; but before they were completed, a deputation arrived from Gaeta, where the relations of Baraballo held a respectable rank, for the purpose of dissuading him from rendering himself an object of laughter to the whole city. Baraballo, however, construed their kindness into an illiberal jealousy of his good fortune in having obtained the favour of the pontiff, and dismissed them with reproaches and anger. Having then recited several of his poems, replete with the most ridiculous absurdities, until his hearers were no longer able to maintain their gravity, he was brought to the area of the Vatican, where he mounted the elephant, and proceeded in great state through the streets, amidst the confused noise of drums and trumpets, and the acclamations of the populace.[n] "I should scarcely

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[n] To this event Angelo Colocci refers in one of his epigrams, entitled,

*De Abante Baraballa.*

"Littore de curvo vicina cadentibus Euris
"Cajeta huc celebres misit alumna viros,

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" scarcely have believed," says Jovius,[o] " unless " I had myself been present at the sight, that a " man not less than sixty years of age, of an " honourable family, and venerable by his stature " and his grey hairs, should have suffered himself " to be decorated with the *toga palmata* and the " *latum clavum* of the ancient Romans, and be- " decked with gold and purple, to be led in a " triumphal procession before the publick, with the " sound of trumpets." His triumph was not, however, of long continuance. On arriving at the bridge of S. Angelo, the sagacious quadruped refused to contribute any longer to the ungenerous mirth of the crowd, and the hero of the day was glad to descend in safety from his exalted station.[p]

The

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" Ænean mentem Trojæ, et te maxime vatum,
" Qui nunc Assaraci nomen Abantis habes.
" Clarus Abans cantu, ter dextra clarus, et armis;
" Illum pax redimit, hunc grave Martis opus.
" At nos Nutrici tantum debebimus omnes,
" Quantum Roma suæ debet alumna Lupæ."
*Colocci, op. Lat. p.* 109.

[o] *Jov. in vita Leon.* x. *lib.* iv. *p.* 85.

[p] Several writers have erroneously supposed that Baraballo and the arch-poet Querno were the same person. *v. Bottari, Note al Vasari, tom.* ii. *p.* 120. *Lancelotto, in op. lat. Angeli Colocci, notis, p.* 109. Baraballo was of Gaeta, Querno of Monopoli, in Appulia. Both these authors cite the authority of Jovius, *in Elog.* who makes no such assertion. Bottari is also mistaken in relating that Leo X. actually

The remembrance of this important incident was, by the orders of the pope, perpetuated by a piece of sculpture in wood,[q] which yet remains upon the door of one of the inner chambers in the Vatican. CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43.

Among the inhabitants of Rome, one of the most distinguished patrons of learned men was a noble and opulent German, named Giovanni Gorizio, or, as he was usually denominated, Janus Corycius, who, under the pontificate of Leo X. held the office of a judge, in the civil concerns of the city. For several years, the house and gardens of Corycius were the usual resort of the Roman academicians. On the feast day of S. Anna, his tutelary saint, he was accustomed to provide a splendid entertainment, which was attended by the most accomplished scholars and respectable inhabitants of Rome and its vicinity, and afforded a favourable opportunity for those literary contests and exhibitions, which gave additional vigour to these studies. The liberality of Corycius was repaid by the commendations of his learned friends, many of whom have perpetuated his name in their verses. About the year 1514, he erected, at his own

Giovanni Gorizio a patron of learning at Rome.

ally crowned Baraballo, "fece la funzione di incoronarlo," for which he also cites the authority of Jovius.

[q] By Gian Barile, "artefice nel genere suo excellen-"tissimo." *Bottari, Note al Vasari, tom.* ii. *p.* 120.

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own expense, in the church of S. Agostino at Rome, a magnificent family chapel, in which he placed a beautiful piece of sculpture, the workmanship of Andrea Contucci del Monte Sansovino, representing the infant Jesus with the virgin and S. Anna. These figures, although all formed from one block of marble, were nearly the size of life, and are mentioned by the historian of the arts, as one of the finest productions of the times. On this occasion the learned friends of Corycius vied with each other in paying a tribute of respect to his munificence, his piety, and his taste; and the numerous compositions to which this incident gave rise, may be considered as the most decisive proof of the proficiency which had been made in the cultivation of Latin poetry within the city of Rome.

*The Corycius.*

One of the most eminent contributors to the shrine of S. Anna was Biagio Pallai, a native of Sabina, who assumed the academick name of Blosius Palladius, by which he is frequently mentioned in the writings of his contemporaries.[r] In the year 1516, he had the honour of being admitted a Roman

[r] Particularly in the *Carmina* of Marc Antonio Flaminio, where it appears that the most trivial circumstances have at times given rise to compositions which Horace or Catullus might not have blushed to own. *Flamin. Carm. lib.* i. *Carm.* 56, 57, 58, 59, *&c.*

a Roman citizen by a publick decree.[s] This accomplished scholar was no less distinguished by his hospitality than by his talents, and his house and gardens are also celebrated as having frequently afforded a place of assembly and entertainment for his literary friends.[t] After having been one of the principal ornaments of the Roman academy, during the pontificate of Leo X. he rose to considerable eminence in the state, and filled the office of pontifical secretary to Clement VII. and Paul III. by the latter of whom his services were rewarded by the presentation of the bishoprick of Foligno.[u] To Palladius we are indebted for the publication of the poems addressed to Corycius, which the latter had carefully preserved, but which he justly conceived would subject him to the imputation of vanity, if he were to commit them to the press. The solicitations of Palladius at length removed his objections, and they made their appearance in the year 1524, in an elegant volume, now of extreme rarity, entitled, *Coryciana*. This collection contains, besides several anonymous pieces, a specimen of the productions of no less than one hundred and twenty Latin poets, who were

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[s] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 203.

[t] *Flamin. Carm. lib.* i. *Car.* 55.

"Blosi villula ter quaterque felix."

[u] *Fabroni, vita Leon.* x. 194.

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were then found within the limits of Rome, and many of whom yet hold a high rank in the annals of learning.[v] It appears to have been usual to present

[v] Of the nature of these compositions, the following lines of Flaminius, whilst they exhibit a singular mixture of christian piety and heathen sensuality, may afford a sufficient idea.

*De Sacello Coryciano.*

"Dii, quibus tam Coryclus venusta
"Signa, tam dives posuit sacellum,
"Ulla si vestros animos pioruni
"Gratia tangit,
"Vos jocus risusque senis faceti
"Sospites servate diu; senectam
"Vos date et semper viridem, et Falerno
"Usque madentem.
"At simul longo satiatus ævo
"Liquerit terras, dapibus Deorum
"Lætus intersit, potiore mutans
"Nectare Bacchum."

*Carm. lib.* i. *Car.* vii.

Ye sacred powers, to whom this shrine,
These sculptured forms, *Corycius* rears,
If e'er your favouring ear incline
To votive sighs and mortal prayers,
O grant him still with jest and song
The blissful hours of life to pass;
To healthful age his years prolong;
And crown with wine his festive glass;
Till satiate with this earthly fare,
You lead him to your seats divine,
The banquets of the gods to share,
And into nectar change his wine.

present these pieces as votive gifts at the altar of S. Anna, but the offerings became so numerous, that Corycius was at length obliged to close the doors of his chapel, and to terminate this more than half idolatrous worship.[w]

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The collection of the *Coryciana* is terminated by a poem of Francesco Arsilli, entitled *De Poetis Urbanis*, which celebrates the names, and characterizes the works of a great number of Latin poets resident at Rome in the time of Leo X. Its author was a native of Sinigaglia, and was of a respectable family, his brother Paolo having been deputed by his countrymen to congratulate Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino, on his acquisition of that state. After having finished his studies at Padua, and devoted himself to the practice of medicine, Francesco took up his residence at Rome.[x] He

Poem of Francesco Arsilli, entitled *de Poetis Urbanis*.

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[w] This circumstance is alluded to in the following lines of Fabius Vigil.

" Tandem, Jane, oculis aufer Miracula Divum,
" Nam decet arcanis sacra latere locis.
" Ni facis, accurrent vario tot ab orbe pœtæ
" Quot Persarum iniere agmina Thermopylas.
" Nec tibi, quot scita populo statuere Quiritum
" Bissenæ adversus sat fuerint tabulæ," &c.

[x] *Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital.* vii. *par.* iii. *p.* 200, where it appears that Arsilli returned to Sinigaglia, in the year 1527, not richer than he left it, and lived there till 1540;

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43. He appears, however, neither to have been favourable to the pontiff, nor to have obtained his friendship; as a reason for which, it has been said that he was too fond of his own liberty to attend on the court, and that the court therefore neglected or forgot him.[y] Hence Arsilli was one of the few instances

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1540; several other works of this author yet remain in MS. among which Tiraboschi enumerates, *Amorum, libri* iii. *Pirmilicidos, lib.* iii. *Piscatio. Helvetiados lib.* i. *Prædictionum, lib.* iii. Onorato Fascitelli has celebrated the memory of Arsilli in the following lines.

*In obitu Arsilli, Medici, et Poetæ.*

" Ergo videmus lumine hoc spirabili
" Cassum jacere te quoque;
" Ut plebe quivis unus e vili jacet,
" Arsillæ, magno Apollini
" Novemque Musis care? Sive poculis
" Præsentibus morbi graves
" Essent levandi, sive dulci carmine
" Dicenda mater aurea
" Cupidinum, lususque furtorum leves.
" O vota nostra inania!
" Quid dura fati non potest necessitas?
" I, da lyram mihi, puer,
" Manuque funde proniore Cæcubum.
" Nunc sunt Lyæi munera,
" Nunc plectra cordi; nunc juvat lectissimo
" Cinxisse flore tempora.
" Sicci, tenebris obsiti, tristi in Styge
" Fortasse cras silebimus."

[y] " Natura enim frugi, et aureæ libertatis custos, Vaticanam

instances which these times afforded of unrewarded merit; and his dissatisfaction is pointedly expressed in the commencement of his poem, addressed to Paulus Jovius, where he enters into the following comparison between the patronage afforded to the poets of antiquity, and to those of his own days:

CHAP. XVII. 1518. Æt. 43.

Long have I, Jovius, in my mind revolved
Whether the laureate wreath to former times,
Or to our modern bards be rather due.
— But sure the muses in those better days
Were blest, when great AUGUSTUS ruled the earth,
And when MECENAS with his liberal hand
Fostered the flowers of genius. Witness thou
Melodious HORACE, and thou, MIGHTY BARD,
Who sang'st the labours of the Phrygian chief,
And NASO, thou, and ye the numerous throng
Whose fame survives the lapse of rolling years.
Then, to the poet's song the sovereign bent
With ear benignant; but in modern times
We to the deaf our tuneful warblings pour.
Rude was the breast that from the imperial smile
Caught not a warmer fervour; and 'tis hence
We yield (if yet we yield) to elder days.
— But when I note this avaricious age,
And the scant boon the modern patron gives;
— An age, in which the tuneful maids themselves
Might ask admittance at the door in vain;
And unprotected on Parnassus' hill
The laurel droops and dies; I boldly then
Prefer to ancient talents modern worth.

For

" ticanam aulam, et potentium limina, contumaci quadam " superbia devitabat." *Jov. in Elog. Arcilli* ciii.

CHAP. XVII.

For not by hopes of lucre led, the bard
To virtue only consecrates his song.

1518. Æt. 43.

O that the shepherd would, with timely care,
Collect his scattered flock, and lead them forth
To richer pasturage, and guard them safe
From ravenous wolves, that with unsparing tooth
Tear the fair fleece from Phœbus' favourite train.
Then, to the envy of each former age
Should flow the nectared melody. Ev'n now,
Though chilled by cold neglect, the heavenly flame
Glows ardent; and forgetful of his lot
The poet raises his immortal strain.

To these querulous effusions, the numerous instances of the liberality of the pontiff to the professors of every department of literature, and the general testimony of his contemporaries, would afford a sufficient reply;[z] but for this purpose it is not

[z] Even Jovius, to whom the poem of Arsilli is addressed, attributes the sudden improvement of polite literature to the liberality of Leo X. "Scripsit (Arsillus) lepidum "libellum *de Poetis Urbanis*, mihi, tanquam veteri sodali, "dedicatum; quum Leone ingeniis liberaliter arridente, "multi undique poetæ illustres, nequaquam ad inanes spes "in Urbem confluxissent, et pulcherrimo quodam certa- "mine à singulis in una tantùm statuæ materia scriberetur, "qua carminum farragine Corytius, homo Trevir, humani "juris libellis præpositus, uti perhumanus poetarum hospes, "ac admirator inclaruit; ea, scilicet, statua insigni mar- "morea, *Aureliano* in templo dedicata, invitatisque vatibus, "ut tria numina Christi Dei, et Matris, ac Aviæ uno in "signo celebrarent." *Jov. in Arcilli Elog.* ciii.

not necessary to resort further than to the poem itself, which exhibits, in a striking point of view, the astonishing proficiency, which, in the course of a very few years, had taken place in the city of Rome. This proficiency the author, it is true, affects to consider as the spontaneous result of the genius, the talents, and the virtues of those whom he has celebrated; but he might as well have informed us, that in those days the flowers of summer bloomed in the midst of winter, as attempt to conceal a truth, which is demonstrated by every line of his work; there being scarcely a person of any eminence mentioned by him, who was not indebted to Leo X. for the competence, and perhaps for the credit, which he enjoyed. On the merits of Sadoleti and of Bembo, this author has dwelt with peculiar complacency.



Hence numerous are the bards that Rome infolds
In her maternal bosom; heirs of fame
While yet they live. For say what future age
Shall rob thee of thy honours, or refuse
Thy praise, O SADOLETI? in whose verse
The breathing marble of Laocoon glows
With strong expression, as in serpent folds
He and his sons expire; or Curtius wheels
His foaming steed, and rushes on to fate
To save his country. Nor inferiour praise
Is thine, O BEMBO; who amidst the waves
Of Venice nursed, could'st tune thy infant voice
To notes of Tuscan melody, or wake
To Latian sounds the elegiack lyre,
From amorous Pan as Galatea flies.

Sing'st

CHAP. XVII.

1518. Æt. 43.

Sing'st thou the hero's praise, thy rival verse
Aspires to emulate his deeds, and bears
The palm of excellence from every age.
Or if to narrower bounds confined, thou know'st
To rein thy steed, and bend thy fervid wheels
Within prescriptive limits. These the bards
Of kindred mind, amid the Idalian groves
Oft social wander, emulous to crop
Their brightest flowers; and when the sister-train
Of Phœbus seek on Aganippes' brink
A shelter from the day-star's burning rage,
Then to her lyre Calliope attunes
Their melting numbers, that like musick sweet
Sink deep into the vacant mind; and they
The tuneful maids, responsive to the song,
In choral harmony applaud the strain.

This poem, as published in the *Coryciana*, consists of only one hundred and ninety-two distichs; but Tiraboschi had the good fortune to obtain another copy, in the hand writing of the author, which is enlarged by the addition of many other names, and extends to three hundred and twenty-seven distichs. The perusal of this poem will afford the admirer of Latin poetry a characteristick idea of the numerous authors there mentioned; and the republication of it, at the close of the present volume, may therefore relieve us from the necessity of prosecuting our researches on a subject, which, if further pursued, would carry us too far beyond the limits to which this portion of the present work must necessarily be confined.

FRANCISCI ARSILLI

SENOGALLIENSIS

# DE POETIS URBANIS,

AD PAULUM JOVIUM

LIBELLUS.

# FRANCISCI ARSILLI

## SENOGALLIENSIS,

# DE POETIS URBANIS,

## AD PAULUM JOVIUM

### LIBELLUS.

TEMPORA Apollineæ presentia frondis honorem,
Illius an laudem sæcula prisca ferant,
Paule, diu mecum demorsis unguibus æqua
Sub trutina examen, judiciumque traho.
Felices Musæ, felix quas protulit ætas,
Cum foret Augusto Principe Roma potens.
Mæcenas Vatum ingenti mercede solebat
Elicere ingenia Pieriamque manum.
Testis erit nobis numerosus Horatius, et qui
Jam cecinit Phrygio prælia gesta duci.
Et Naso, atque alii, vastum quos fama per orbem
Nunc celebrat, multo numine plena cohors.
Adde quod his aures solitus præstare benignas
Cæsar erat: surdis tempora nostra canunt.
Ad laudem rude pectus erat, cui calcar inerti
Non possent tanti Principis ora dare.
Talia dum tacitus dubia sub mente revolvo,
Temporibus priscis cedere nostra reor.

Sed

Sed quoties ævum hoc, peravaraque temporis hujus
Sæcula, quæ Musis occuluere fores,
Obruta et ut jaceat cæno Parnassia laurus,
Nostra ego nil illis esse minora puto.
Nunc miseri tantum Vates virtutis amore,
Non precio inducti plectra sonora movent.
Quos si Pastor agens ad pinguia culta Minervæ
Duceret, et rabidos pelleret inde Lupos,
Pascua mordaci rictu qui cuncta vagantes,
Phœbei laniant vellera culta gregis,
Qualia nectarei caperes modulamina cantus,
Forsan et antiquis invidiosa viris.
Plurima nunc quamvis Vatum conatibus obstent,
Attamen his œstrum mentis inesse vides.
Quos furor ille animis cœlo dilapsus inhæret
Et propriæ immemores conditionis agit.
Hinc tua nescio quid pectus præstringit, et urget
Ut superet Joviæ gloria gentis avos:
Ac mea nescio quid molli dicat otia Phœbo,
Meque etiam invitum munera ad ista rapit.
Hinc fovet alma sinu sacros tot Roma Poetas
Fama, quibus cineres contigit ante suos.

Jac. Sadoletus. Ætas nulla tuum minuet, Sadolete, decorem,
Gloria nec longo tempore victa cadet,
Laocoontei narras dum marmoris artes,
Concidat ut natis vinctus ab angue pater.
Curtius utque etiam patriæ succensus amore,
Et specie et forti conspiciendus equo,
Fervida dum virtus foret in juvenilibus annis,
Præcipitem se se tristia in antra dedit.

Pet. Bembus. Bembus, et hoc mirum est, Venetis nutritus in undis
Ethrusco hunc tantum quis putet ore loqui?
Nec minus est Elegis Latio Sermone disertus,
Hoc Pana patendit dum Galatea fugit.
Hic canit Heroas, atque illos versibus æquat,
Et superat cantu tempora prisca novo.

In

In breve sive opus est spacium deflectere carmen,
Curriculo effrænis colla retorquet equi.
Hi simul Idalios Damaseni e gramine rivis
Unanimi flores sæpe tulere sinu;
Horum opera, ad fontis dum Musæ Aganippidos umbram,
Phœbei evitant torrida plaustra jugi,
Ut sociis vacuas oblectet carmine mentes
Ad citharæ pulsum Calliopea refert;
Unisonaque illi responsant voce Sorores,
Et plaudunt numeris turba canora deæ.
Est sacer a docto celebratus carmine Vida,
Vida, Cremonensis candida Musa soli. Hier. Vida Cremon. Sacerdos.
Panthoiden Samii corpus si credere fas est
Intrasse, et clypei pondera nosse sui;
Altiloqui Genium Vatem hunc adamasse Maronis
Quis neget, ut Juli grandia gesta canat?
Grandia gesta canat; canat ut confectus ab annis
Ausonii molem sustinet imperii.
Sperulus est Elegis cultus, dum tangit amores,
Arduus, heroum dum fera bella canit; Franc. Sperulus Camers.
Nec minor est Lyricis, cum barbitos æmula Vati
Æolio molles concinit icta modos.
Nota erit Hesperiis, atque Indis nota puella,
Felsineus multa quam colit arte Pius; Bapt. Pius. Bonon.
Idem priscorum reserans enigmata Vatum
Conspicuo reddit lucidiora die.
Est Casa molliculi Vates Nova carminis Auctor,
Cujus amat placidos blanda Camœna sales; M. Ant. Casanova.
Huic decor, et cultus astant, Veneresque jocique,
Hunc fovet in tenero gratia trina sinu.
Galle tuæ passim resonant per compita laudes
Scena graves numeros te recitante probat. Gallus Romanus Comicus.
Vivet in æternum facundi Musa Camilli,
Quem peperit genitrix Portia stirpis honor. Camillus Portius.
Certat Romano tua pagina culta Tibullo,
Laurea nunc culti carminis ambigua est.

Jo. Maria Catanæus. Nonne reus Musis fierem, si nostra Catani,
Et magni Augusti laudibus ora vacent?

Augustus patavinus. Namque simul penitus scrutantur Numina Cyrrhæ
Argivasque docent verba Latina Deas.

Antonius Laelius Rom. Est vafer, et facilis peracuto dente renidens
Lælius, austero toxica corde gerens.
Huic quamvis libeat verbis petulantibus uti,
Est tamen ingenio mitis et arte potens.

Thomas Petrasancta. Quique supercilii rigidi Lunensis, ab annis
Assuetus teneris scindere cuncta Tomos,
Inde sibi metuens, vigili sic cuncta lucerna
Lustrat, ut a nullis unguibus ictus eat,
Pindarus auritas sylvas testudine mulcet,
Dulcisonaque trahit concava saxa fide.
At modo quis Thamyræ cytharam non nescit amatque,
Aurea cui nitido pectore vena fluit.

Evangelista Faustus Matalena Romanus. Fluctibus immerget ac se ante Lycaonis arctos
Æquoreis, Phœbi currus ad ima ruet,
Quam tua Fauste cadat nitidi candoris avena,
Cui levat Ismeni fluminis unda sitim.

Baldas. Castilionus Mantuan. Castilionum annumerem quos inter? Martis acerbi,
Num Phœbi, an Veneris te rear esse decus?
Miles in arma ferox, peramata in Virgine mitis,
Hinc molles elegos, hinc fera bella cane.

Mellinus. Et tu nomen habes ab nectare mollis Hymetti
Melline, Aonidum culmen et urbis Amor.

Blosius. Pene mihi exciderant animo tua carmina Blosi,
Cui nova Acidaliæ vincula nectit amor.
Utque Cupidineos confundens pulvere currus,
Semper anhelantes verbere tundis equos.

Dejanira. At modo ne tantum priscorum insultet honori
Inter doctiloquos Lesbia sola Viros,
Inclyta Pisæo, et præstanti sanguine creta,
Fœminei splendor Dejanira chori,
Prompta venit nostris non indignata choreis,
Virgineos facili plaudere fronte pedes,

Imparibus

Imparibus cedit præsens cui versibus ætas,
Quamque novam Sappho Tibridis ora colit.
Dum gravidæ nubes fugient Aquilonis ab ortu, — Severus Sacerdos.
Dum madidas referet turbidus Auster aquas,
Sidera percutiet fulgor, titulusque Severi,
Pandulphi pandens inclyta gesta ducis.
Suggerit assidue nomen tibi grande Casali — Balt. Casalius Rom.
Melpomene æternæ posteritatis opus.
Dulcis Apollineo demulcens pectore chordas — Achilles Phileros Bono.
Aonius Phileros agmina tanta premit.
Tu quoque seu Flacci, seu per nemora alta Properti — Valerianus Pierius.
Incedis, tibi habes Valeriane locum.
Frondibus Aoniis te Pimpinelle decorum — Pimpinellus Romanus.
Vidimus, et meritis laurea serta comis.
Dum recinent volucres, tundent dum littora fluctus, — Phil. Beroaldus Junior Bonon.
Implumes fœtus dum feret unda maris,
Huic aderis semper mollis Beroalde trophaeo,
Blanda Venusinae cui favet aura Lyrae.
Est Marius versu, pergrato et scommate notus, — Marius Volaterranus.
Cui virides colles ruraque amœna placent.
Sæpius inde novem vocat ad vineta Sorores
Munifica impendens citria poma manu;
Promittitque rosas, violas, vaccinia, et alba
Lilia, cum primo vere tepescet humus.
His scelus est, magnum non asseruisse Capellam, — Capella.
Roris Apollinei cui rigat ora liquor.
Non te Amiterne sinam, dubias sub nocte silenti — Amiteranus.
Per tenebras nullo lumine ferre gradum.
Nam tu Pegasidum juvenes deducis ad undas,
Quos fovet ingenti Martia Roma sinu.
Lippus adest caro natali sidere mancus — Lippus.
Lumine, sed docto carmen ab ore movens.
Delius huic lucis dedit hæc solatia ademptæ,
Ne misera ex omni sors sua parte foret.
Nam subito revocat blanda in certamina divas,
Dum movet Ausoniam dulcius arte chelym.

Cyrrhaeas

Jo. Ant. Marostica.

Cyrrhaeas latebras, et amœna Marosticus antra
Visit, et huic Erato praevia signa tulit.
Inde miser dominæ tactus dulcedine amandi
Demulsit placidis ferrea corda modis.

Laur. Vallatus Rom.

Illum tu blandis aequas Vallate Camœnis,
Ingenio, inventu, carmine, judicio;
Quem penes argato scribendi Epigrammata sensu
Laus fuit, et gratos tingere felle sales.
His te cui Charites adsunt, Agatine, choreis
Insere et aurata carmina funde lyra.

M. Ant. Elatanus Medicus.

Phileticum haud Lucam silco, qui nomen ab ipsa
Luce tenens, tenebras dispulit ingenii.

M Ant. Flaminius.

Est et Flaminius nimium sibi durus et atrox,
Cujus avena potest scribere quidquid avet.

Scipio Lancellottus Medicus Rom.

Unica spes genti et languentum maxima cura
Scipio, qui Choa est clarus ab arte Senex.
Hunc quamvis Arvina premat, vigil intus oberrat
Spiritus, et sacro pectore multa fovet.

Donatus Poli.

Noscit sic montes, sylvas, maria, oppida, et amnes
Polius, ac solidis viderit illa oculis.

Angelus Colotius.

Te si, Colloti, O musarum candide Alumne,
Praeteream, Vates invidiosus ero;
Urbis delitiae, dictant cui verba lepores,
Lacteus a dulci cui fluit ore liquor;

Scipio Carteromachus, Pistor.

Felix exactae est sic Carteromachus artis
Ut nihil adscribi, diminuive queat.
Euterpen trahit hic sociasque e Phocidos ora,
Romuleique jubet littus amare soli.

Joan. Parrasius.

Sospite Parrhasio, Romana Academia, opacis
Occultum in tenebris nil sinit esse diu.
Hunc circum urbanus latrando livor oberrat,
Et fessa externam voce reposcit opem.
Ille velut Danaes turri munitus in alta,
Ridenti imbelles despicit ore minas.

Joannes Aloysius Vopiscus, Neapol.

Vocibus ut placidis, placido et modulamine, Siren
Fallaci nautas mersit et arte rates,
Sic modo, Parthenope erudiit quem docta, Vopisci

Decipitur

Decipitur blandis casta puella modis.
Idem Cardonis magni dum fortia in armis
Gesta canit, grandi fertur in astra sono,
Cecropiæque imos linguæ Latiæque recessus
Scrutatus, nymphis munera rara tulit.
Ut volucrum Regina supervolat æthera, et alti
Immotum lumen solis in orbe tenet,
Sic illa genitus clara Mariangelus urbe,
Alite quæ a Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felici ingenio solers speculatur in antro
Corycio, unde refert carminis omne genus.
Quantum Ramatio tellus Fulginia, tantum
Arcade grandisono Narnia terra nitet.
Imperium prisci donec tenuere Quirites
Dum stetit Augusto maxima Roma Duce,
Vix Latiæ Linguæ Scythicas penetravit ad oras
Nomen et illius fama sinistra fuit.
At modo quæ latos glacialis Vistula campos
Abluit, et gelidum per mare findit iter,
Suchthenium ingenio præstanti misit ad Urbem,
Qui modo lege sui carminis urget avos.
Explicat ardores, et amicæ ventilat ignes,
Præbeat ut victas dura puella manus.
Alta supervolitans Ursinus tecta Quirini
Fertur Parrhasii Gaspar ab axe poli
Barbariem incultam patriis de finibus arcet,
Ducit et Ausonias in nova Templa Deas.
Æmulus huic, concors patria, Juvenilibus annis
Silvanus numeris certat et arte pari.
Auspice Germanas hoc jam fluxere per oras
Attica Romano conflua mella favo.
Hunc puer Idalia doctum cum matre Cupido
Mirantur vatem dum sua furta canit.
Præcipiti quoties œstro nova carmina dictat
Pierio toties dignus honore frui.
Pannonia a forti celebris jam milite tantum
Extitit; at binis vatibus aucta modo est.

Mariangelus ab Aquila.

Sactenius Teutonicus.

Gaspar Ursinus, Theutonicus.

Pico Pannonius.

Nam

Nam Latium Piso sitibundo ita gutture rorem.
Hausit, ut Ausoniis carmine certet avis.
Nec minor est Jano, patrium qui primus ad Istrum
Duxit laurigeras ex Helicone Deas.

Andreas Fulvius Sacer. Fulvius a septem descripsit montibus Urbem,
Reddit et antiquis nomina prisca locis,

Syllanus Spoletinus. Fulminea est adeo lingua Syllanus, ut illi
Aonium facili murmure flumen eat.

Ant. Tibaldeus. Flava Tibaldeum placidis sic Flavia ocellis
Incitat, occultis præcipitatque dolis,
Aptior ut nullus malesani pectoris ignes
Explicet, et lepida comptior arte sales.

Lucas Bonfilius Patavinus. Urbs Patavi foret orba suo ne semper alumno,
Cujus opus tantum blanda Columba fuit,
Illius Elysiis fato revocatus ab umbris
Spiritus, in lucem nunc redivivus agit.
Pectora nam tribuit facilis Bonfilius illi,
Nec minor ingenio, nec minor arte valet.

Camillus Paleottus, Bonnien. Nec mea Calliope Paleotum fessa silebit,
Cui fons irrorat pectora Castalius.
Læta fluentisono remeabat ab æquore Cypris,
Incipit, et tanto carmine conflat opus.

Phædrus Volaterranus. Quis Phædrum ignorat, Vigilisque poemata magni?
Maxima Romani lumina gymnasii.

Fabius Vigil. Spoletinus. Sacceus invicti celebrat nunc gesta Triulti
Invictasque Aquilas, magnanimumque senem.

Caesar Saccus. Fortunate senex, quis te furor impius egit?

Franciscus Cetrarius. Cur geris in patrios arma nefanda lares?
Phœbus ad externas peregrinaque regna sorores
Ducturus Cyrrhæ quæ juga summa colunt,
Incola barbaries fieret ne collis amati
Fœda timens, cœptum distulit auctor iter,
Atque agilem viridis cetram de stipite Lauri
Fabricat, hoc circum cui breve carmen erat.
Miles erit Phœbi, et musarum miles, honestum
Quisquis barbarico culmen ab hoste teget.

Turba

Turba pavit, tantæque timens discrimina molis.
Pensitat atque humeris non leve credit onus.
Tum subito juvenes inter promptissimus omnes
Exilit, intrepida sumit et arma manu.
Tollitur applausu Sociorum clamor, et illi
Ab Cetra impositum nomen inesse volunt.
Dexter in omne genus scripti Cetrarius inde est;
Nec facile agnosces, aptior unde fluat.
Infantem quæ cura regat, quis cultus habendo
Sit puero, et juveni qualia, quidve seni,
Optimus ut queat hic Civis sine fraude vocari,
Jureque cui res sit publica danda viro,
Tempora qui placidæ pacis sine fraude gubernet,
Nec timeat mortem, cum fera bella premunt,
Fulginas Venturus agit, præceptaque in unum
Colligit, et culto carmine promit opus.
Janus, et expertus Macer est depellere morbos,
Pieridum tenere cultor ab ungue chori,
Fulvia quem fallax medicis subtraxit ab Aris,
Jussit et Idalii vulnera amare Dei.
Hausisti Cruciger sacros Heliconis honores:
Hinc venit ad calamos prompta Thalia tuos,
Et cantat Leges, sanctique edicta Senatus,
Ac duce te insolitas audet adire vias.
Exprimit affectus animi sic carmine veros
Postumus, ut Lector cuncta videre putet;
Cum libet ad lacrimas ridentis lumina amicae
Flectit, et ad risum cum gemit, ora movet.
Marce Aganippeos latices qui e fonte Caballus
Eruit, ille tibi nomina sacra dedit.
Inde tuis charites numeris haerere videntur
Numen et Idalium, Pegasidumque chori.
At modo Bombasi quo non vaga fama refulget?
Cui reserant Musae Phocidos antra novem.
Litoris Adriaci nuper deleta per agros
Perque Ravennatis pinguia culta soli,

Michael Venturus Fulginas.

Joannes a Macerata, Medic.

Nicolaus Crucifer, Sacerdos.

Postumus Pisaurensis.

Marcus Caballus, Anconitanus.

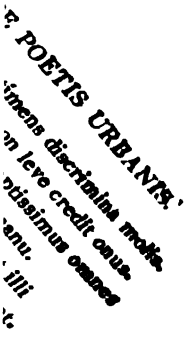
Bombasius.

Marcellus Palonius, Rom.

Gentis

Nam Latium Piso sitibundo ita gutture ro
Hausit, ut Ausoniis carmine certet a
Nec minor est Jano, patrium qui prim
Duxit laurigeras ex Helicone D
Andreas Fulvius Sacer. Fulvius a septem descripsit mo
Reddit et antiquis nomina pu
Syllanus Spoletinus. Fulminea est adeo lingua Sy
Aonium facili murmure
Ant. Tibaldeus. Flava Tibaldeum placidis
Incitat, occultis pra
Aptior ut nullus mal
Explicet, et lepid
Lucas Bonfilius Patavinus. Urbs Patavi foret
Cujus opus tar
Illius Elysiis fa
Spiritus, in
Pectora nam
Nec mir
Camillus Paleottus, Bononien. Nec me
Cui f
Læta f
In
Phaedrus Volaterranus. Qu
Fabius Vigil. Spoletinus.
Caesar Saccus.
Francis Cetrari
Jane, Panormeæ telluris gloria, narras,
Cui vix in vultu prima juventa nitet;
Tuque etiam ingenio scandis super ardua primus
Sydera, Olympiacas ausus adire domos.
Afflatusque animis æternis concinis hymnos
Ætherei reserans claustra verenda Jovis.
Virgilii hic manes semper sub nocte silenti
Evocat, et musis cogit adesse suis.

Te



…; prisco cui Musa Maroni — Andreas Maro Brixiens.
…omina nota foro,
…er liquisse tenebras,
…sse situ.
… pectore sensus,
… Dei;
… Jopas
… movet.
… fluenta,
…ns.

…; — Franc. Modestus Arminensis.
…nt.
… Arce — Camillus Quernus, Archipoeta Leon. X.
…vis,
…ene gesserat olim,
…mine vellet opus,
… subtraxit ab ubere sacro,
…um fonte levare sitim;
… imponens peramato a stipite frondis
…it; Quernus eris, tu mea gesta canes.
…de sacrosancto celebrat sic omnia versu
Divinum ut cuncti numen inesse putent.
At quibus e doctis domus est ignota Coryti? — Jo. Coricius.
Thespiadum curæ est cui bona ne pereant;
Vatibus hic Sacris Mœcenas splendidus, ibi,
Si foret Augustus, tempora avara nocent.
At tua, quod potis es, sunt Phœbi tecta Sacellum,
Cumque novem Musis illa frequentat Amor.
Verticis Aonii musarum in culmine templum
Desertum stabat, jam sine honore locus:
Annua pœnituit Phœbum pia Sacra Sororum
Jamdudum amisso flamine nulla fore;
Quæsitumque diu juvenem renovare quotannis
Mystica sacra jubet Flaminiumque vocat.

Gentis Aquitanæ tumulos, et gentis Iberæ
Agmina, ad infernos agmina pulsa lacus,
Marcellus cecinit primævo in flore juventæ,
Præliaque intrepido carmine sæva gerit;
Romuleæ gentis longe indignatus, et idem
Auctorem per tot sæcula nocte premi.
Iliades magni genus armipotentis, ut urbem
Fatalem æternum struxit in orbe caput,
Et tandem ut patrium merito jam possidet astrum
Utque ipsum indigetem Martia Roma colit,
Concitus Aonio reserat Palæmius œstro
Unica Romuleæ spesque decusque togæ.
Dardanus Parmensis. Hinc mihi se offert Parmensi missus ab urbe
Dardanus, Aoniis pectora lotus aquis.
Hic canit Ausonias quoties irrumpat in oras
Barbarus, et quanto fulmine bella fremant.
Idem sollicitos elegis solatur amores,
Atque gemit dominæ tristior ante fores;
Qua Padus ingentes Vesuli de vertice pinus
Volvit et occultis exerit ora vadis,
Idem contractis Epigrammata condere verbis
Gaudet, et arguto promere ab ore sales;
Cui dum Cæsareas percurrit carmine laudes
Continuit rapidas Renus et Ister aquas.
Hunc merito Cæsar Lauri dignatus honore est,
Huicque Palatini Militis Arma dedit.
Monstra quid Hesperiis portendant urbibus, acri
Ingenio et quidquid exta resecta notent,
Joannes Vitalis Panormensis. Jane, Panormeæ telluris gloria, narras,
Cui vix in vultu prima juventa nitet;
Tuque etiam ingenio scandis super ardua primus
Sydera, Olympiacas ausus adire domos.
Afflatusque animis æternis concinis hymnos
Ætherei reserans claustra verenda Jovis.
Virgilii hic manes semper sub nocte silenti
Evocat, et musis cogit adesse suis.

Te

Te Maro non ausim, prisco cui Musa Maroni
Æmula dat Latio nomina nota foro,
Immemor obscuras inter liquisse tenebras,
Et sinere ignavo delituisse situ.
Exuis humanos extemplo e pectore sensus,
Fatidicique furens induis ora Dei;
Pulcher inaurata quoties testudine Jopas
Personat, et placido murmure fila movet.
Hauriretque Helicona prius, Dircesque fluenta,
Desereret cœptum quam tuus ardor opus.
Liviani audentis narrat fera bella Modestus,
Quotque hominum dederit millia multa neci;
Inter ut arma illi mens imperterrita mansit;
Hujus opus Seres, Antipodesque legent.
Ille opifex rerum cœli qui lapsus ab Arce
Filius æterni maximus ille Jovis,
Orbe pererrato, cum quid bene gesserat olim,
Describi insolito carmine vellet opus,
Musarum infantem subtraxit ab ubere sacro,
Aonio assuetum fonte levare sitim;
Nomen et imponens peramatæ a stipite frondis
Dixit; Quernus eris, tu mea gesta canes.
Inde sacrosancto celebrat sic omnia versu
Divinum ut cuncti numen inesse putent.
At quibus e doctis domus est ignota Coryti?
Thespiadum curæ est cui bona ne pereant;
Vatibus hic Sacris Mœcenas splendidus, illi,
Si foret Augustus, tempora avara nocent.
At tua, quod potis es, sunt Phœbi tecta Sacellum,
Cumque novem Musis illa frequentat Amor.
Verticis Aonii musarum in culmine templum
Desertum stabat, jam sine honore locus:
Annua pœnituit Phœbum pia Sacra Sororum
Jamdudum amisso flamine nulla fore;
Quæsitumque diu juvenem renovare quotannis
Mystica sacra jubet Flaminiumque vocat.

Andreas Mazo Brixiens.

Franc. Modestus Ariminensis.

Camillus Quernus, Archipœeta Leon. X.

Jo. Cotelius.

Inde Elegos, blandosque sales, seu fortia bella,
Pangit, habet Veneres, nec decor ullus abest.
Invidit Vati Spartanus Rallius Umbro
Te gravibus recinens pulchra Licina modis,
Et patria Eurotas licet hunc instruxerit arte,
Te tamen Ausonio carmine ad Astra tulit.

Petrus Delius. Delie ni vires nosset sibi conscia virtus,
Ipse tuas laudes haud timide exequerer.
Sed quoniam præstat molem evitasse pericli,
Quam grave curvato poplite fundere onus,
Cum tua Romulidum volitet vaga fama per urbem,
Ne male cœpta canam sit voluisse satis.

Ulixes Fanensis. A patria, a musis, Phœboque urbique Quiritum
Ac reus a populi publicus ore ferar,
Ni tua multiplici studio præstantia Ulisse
Pectora sacratis Vatibus annumerem.
Notitia in tenebris nulla est adeo abdita rerum
Ingenio fuerit quin bene culta tuo;
Omnia nam septem reserasti arcana sororum;
Libera quarum Artes noscere corda decet.
Nec tibi deficiunt (bisseptem tempora lustri
Cum superes) vires corporis atque animi.

Aurelius Clarerius Lupus, Spoletinus. Clareli ingenua effigies frontisque serenæ
Blandus honos Musas ad sua castra vocat.
Illius ex hilari genium dignoscere vultu
Et mentem, et sensus, cordaque aperta licet.
Nullæ unquam poterunt fraudes se inferre Camænis,
Quas tibi lascivo murmure dictat amor.
Hoc duce Nympha olim Venerisque peristera custos
Fit volucris, volucri quæ vehit axe Deam.
Per Sylvas quoties nemorosis saltibus errat,
Calliope æternum solâ ministrat opus,
Armaque grandiloquo resonantia carmine Phœbus
Ingerit, et gravibus verba sonora modis.
Felleque mordaci brevibus sententia dictis
Non caret, hostili cum vomit ore sales.

Atque

Atque Atriæ hic nostri doctissima pectora secli
Non silet, armati nec fera bella ducis.
Pactius Ethruscæ modo plurima gloria Gentis — Petrus Pactius.
Petrus adest, clivo maximus Aonio,
Nobilitas quem clara fovet Geniusque Charisque,
Et prudens fraudum nescia simplicitas.
Fortunamque super generosa mente vagatur,
Illius haud unquam territus insidiis.
Non rapit in præceps tete ambitiosa Cupido
Intra fortunam vivere docte tuam.
Ingerit huic mirum nil sors inopina, novumque
Omnia qui immoto pectore adire potest.
Candida sublimem te vexit ad æthera virtus
Felicem reddens assimilemque Deis.
De grege quis posset, posset quis credere inerti — Honoratus Facitellus.
Quem mons præpingui rure Casinus alit,
Solus Honoratus vigilanti mente Sacerdos
Aonidum cantus post sua vota colit?
Fascitella domus priscorum e fascibus orta,
Quos veteri imperio stirps generosa tulit,
Edidit infantem, nascenti Æneia nutrix
Affuit, excepit, composuitque caput,
Uberaque admovit pleno turgentia succo:
Auctori arrisit muneris ore puer;
Intrepidaque manu pressit, suxitque papillas;
Lacte redundanti cessit anhela sitis;
Musarumque ipsum altrici commendat, ut inter
Pierides Clarii disceret acta Dei.
Excepere Deæ unanimes, et mystica Phœbi
Sacra docent patriis restituuntque focis.
Cecropiæ hinc cæcas latebras arcanaque linguæ
Anfractusque omnes multiplicesque dolos,
Et quocumque olim veterum invidiosa propago
Liquit in obscuris semisepulta locis,
Paulatim explorans fulgenti luce recessus
Discutit, et nitido tramite monstrat iter.

Nam

Nam brevibus longas ambages legibus aufert,
Et parvo immensum codice stringit opus.
Sentibus evulsis nudo jam calle per amplos
Ire licet montes Pieridumque nemus.
Hoc duce Parnassi pubes petet Itala culmen,
Altaque securo conteret arva pede.
Barthol. Daphnis, Exinus. Daphni tibi sydus nascenti afflavit Apollo,
Ingessitque libens numina et artis opem.
Hinc elegos promptosque sales cultissime pangis,
Nec desit numeris dorica lingua tuis.
Sanga. Te quoque Romulidum et cultae spes altera linguae
Intexam chartis candide Sanga meis.
Vos, animæ, æterni quos ingens nominis ardor
Sollicitat noctu sollicitatque die,
Quas stimulis agitant laudum præconia, quasque hæc
Poenitet haud vatum celsa trophea sequi,
Laurea deponat vobis modo serta capillus;
Surgite in amplexus, jam Deus alter adest.
Namque Caledonio Paeus ab Axe Sacerdos
Cortynam ingreditur ad pia Templa ferens,
Cortynam, qua rite litat tibi, Delphice, quando
Attica Romulidum ac inclyta sacra colit.
Francice. Moltius, Mutinen. Mulsius antiquum nitido candore nitorem
Possidet, et prisca simplicitate viget,
Sincerusque fluit, nec fuco nobile adumbrat
Carmen, sed casto pectore sacra colit,
Hunc quoniam illius cantu oblectantur ameno
Cypris, et aurato gratia blanda sinu,
Semper dulcisonos ut lamentetur amores
Perpetuis flammis improbus urit Amor.
Fortunate bonis animi felicibus aucte
Præsagi merite nomen ab ingenio,
Gratulor, ingeminat tibi quod malefida dolores
Julia, quæ auricomi nomina solis habet.
Namque nisi ex alto sic dissimularet amores,
Non foret a cantu tam bene nota tuo.

Quis

Quis melius doctum te Alexandrine Catullum
Jam promptis numeris te insinuare potest?
Euge quibus Daphnem lamentis, aut quibus olim
Formosum indoluit Cynthius Æbalidem,
Ac veluti jecur æternum sub vulture mœrens
Defleat Japeti viscera hiulca satus,
Qualibus aut lacrymis Ceycem in gurgite vasto
Submersum flerit tam misera Alcyone,
Candide lector, aves si noscere, si vacat, euge
Da maestis aures vocibus Euryali,
Dum queritur fastus iratæ Juliæ, et artes
Illecebras, fraudes, jurgia, furta, dolos.
Calliope huic dextram tribuit dea sponte papillam,
Threicio vati mamma sinistra data est.
Centelles gemini fratres stirps inclyta, aviti
Post habita Siculi nobilitate soli,
Illecti pariter linguæ dulcedine ad urbem
Migrarunt, Clarii bina trophea Dei;
Quorum pectoribus sic mutuus ardor inhæret,
Alter ut alterius pectore corda ferat;
Concordesque animo Phœbei gramina campi,
Antraque sollicito trivit uterque pede.
Hos inter natu major viridante capillum
Lauro Hyeron cinctus tempora nixa gerit;
Heroumque canit laudes ingentiaque acta,
Acta quibus justo murmure plectra movet;
Melliferæ inventum segetis, dulcemque liquorem,
Ut trahit e molli canna palustris humo,
Et quis arundinibus cultus, quæ tempora messis
Dulcia quin etiam saccara ut orbis habet,
Franciscus minor enodat Centello propago,
Et leges strinxit juraque certa dedit.
Non adeo in specubus latitanti horrentis Eremi,
Damnatus voti dum bona sacra novas,

Alexandrinus.

Centelli Fratres.

Illorum

Stephanus. Illorum ut careant ritu, Stephane alme, Quirites
Obscænæ nulli sacra adeunda pede.

Antonius Nerlius. Hos quoque qui ad Tanaim penetrat genus usque nivalem
Insequitur dextris Nerlius alitibus;
Non te divitiæ, fastus, præcepsque juventa
Elevat, ingenium, nobilitasve premit,
Otia quin Elegosque colas, Phœbique recessus,
Carminaque arguto tingere felle juvet.

Franciscus Calvus. Præmia, Calve, tuis quæ digna laboribus umquam,
Tam bene pro meritis lingua latina dabit?
Tu peregre errasti sublata volumina quærens
Quantum Europæo tingitur Oceano.
Namque Caledonii te dives terra Britanni
Novit, et auratis dives Iberus aquis;
Galliaque et latis Germania frigida campis,
Pannoniosque secans turgidus Ister agros.
Quidquid Barbarici Martis furor impius olim
Abstulit, ad patriæ limina grata refers.
Ecce iterum antiquum te pervigilante nitorem,
Roma tenet, candor pristinus ille redit.
Madalius placido immitem dum murmure amicam
Deflet, et assiduo murmure mœstus hiat,

Jo. Bapt. Medalius, Thuscus. Multifido Aonii silvas in vertice montis
Plantat, et errantes mulcet Hamadryadas.
Quin etiam interdum mordax resonante susurro
Ridet, et argutos ingerit ore sales.

Hieronymus Angerianus, Neapol. Si tua non fictos Erato descripsit amores,
Miror quod nondum es, Angeriane, cinis.
Annua Pierides celebrant Phœbeia Nymphæ,
Solemnemque notant munera rara diem,

Albineus Parmensis. Quo miser Admeti pecudes armentaque Pastor,
Desierit tandem tristia vota sequi;
Succinctæque sinus niveo et circumdatæ amictu
Gratantur reducem lata per arva Deum:
Dumque vagæ huc illuc cursant per florida Tempe,
Texentem puerum mollia serta vident.

Dulcia

Dulcia certatim dant oscula, lacte perungunt
Albenti, Albineo nomen et inde fluit.
Collis et Aonii secreta per omnia ducunt,
Instillantque sacri numina cuncta loci.
Haud igitur mirum est, si quidquid concipit alto
Ingenio, æquali carmine, et arte refert.
Oceano in magno veluti stat saxea moles
Immota, assiduis fluctibus icta maris,
Sic caput objectat fortunæ interritus acri — Cloelius.
Confisus Diis Clœlius auspicibus;
Desinit illa unquam ut valido intorquere lacerto
Spicula, in hunc solum spicula cuncta ferens;
Sic animo invictus constanti pectore semper
Imperturbata vulnera mente subit;
Solaturque suas Phœbeo murmure curas,
Murmure cui Latii plaudit avena chori.
Castalii fontis nisi Bevazanius undas — August. Bevazan.
Hausisset solitus pellere ab ore sitim,
Non adeo felix hederæ super alta corymbis
Parnassi ornatus montis adisset iter.
Æternos scripsit cultus Lampridius hymnos, — Bened. Lampridius.
Terreni laudes concinuitque Jovis.
Carmina Romano tantum placuere Tonanti,
His nulla ut nostri temporis æqua putet.
Si vetus obstupuit, præsens itidem obstupet ætas- — Petrus Zanchus Bergom.
Excultum carmen, culte Tibulle, tuum:
Haud mirum hoc doctæ genitricis ab ubere sacro
Hausisti, et castos parvulus ante Lares.
Inde tibi genioque tuo peramica fuere
Sæcula, et Augusti numina grata Ducis.
At modo bisdenos florenti ætate decembres
Vix numerans quanto pectore Zanchus ovat!
Phocenses pariter Musæ Latiique Camœnæ
Concordes una hunc sponte tulere sinu.
Certatim accurrunt charites, numerosaque dictant
Carmina, juncturas, pondera, verba, sonos,

Ponderibus

Ponderibus rerum mentem hic bene pascit et aurea
Selectis verbis mulcet et exhilarat.

Binus. Bine tui ingenii vires, quibus omnia mousaïm
Pangere vel genio nil renuente potes,
Si modo ab hortorum cultu divellere musas,
Ferrea quas semper ducere rastra piget,
Atque alio illarum mentem divertere et aures
Quo se humili extollant sidera ad alta solo,
Jamque tuis velles humeris injungere munus
Grande aliquod, quantus quantus in urbe fores!

Tranquillus Molossus. Dum celebris Vates circumfert pompa, Molosse,
Ipse indicta feris horrida bella cane;
Queis cecidere apri cervorumque agmina longa,
Et damæ imbelles, capreolumque genus,
Cum Leo venandi Palieti lustra Caninum
Oppidulum lassus mœnia parva subit,
Illic ubi hospitio exceptum Pharnesius heros
Convivam nulla non fovet arte Jovem.

Crotus. Thespiadum erudiit prima incunabula nutrix
Euphemes, natus cui, Crote, solus erat,
Unde genus, nomenque trahens ab origine avita
Altera Musarum est maxima cura Crotus.

Baptista de Amelia. Batte melos dulci genitrix te Amerina liquore
Imbuit, et primis imbuit uberibus.
Quam bene mellifluo susceptum nectar ab ore
Diffundis semper Martia gesta canens!
Quæ tuus antiquæ pro mœnibus ille, Ravennæ,
Et quæ pro laribus, docte Catulle, tuis,
Marcus honos patriæ, stirpisque Columnicæ, et almæ
Italiæ contra Gallica signa dedit.
Grandiloquis gerit ille modis celebranda per orbem
Prælia, tuque pari pectore bella refers.
Digna tuis Heros numeris facit omnia, tuque
Factis digna suis carmina semper habes.

Ad

Ad Vatum cœtus propera blandissime Cursi, Cursius.
Ne taceas clausas tristior ante fores;
Nam data carceribus citius si signa quadrigæ
Contingant, frustra vocibus astra petes.
Suntque alii celebres, quos ingens gloria tollit,
Et quorum passim carmina Roma legit.
Horum si quis avet cognoscere nomina amussim
Protinus Aureli templa superba petat.
Illic marmorea pendent suspensa columna,
Atque etiam hæc Coryti picta tabella docet.
Illos novit Arabs, illos novere Sabæi,
Et nigri Ethiopes, arvaque adusta gelu.
Vaticinor, dis grata cohors, felicius ævum
Pectora fatidico murmure Phœbus agit;
Venturus novus Augustus, venturus et alter
Mœcenas, divum candida progenies.
Aurea Principibus novaque illis sæcula fient,
Sæcula, queis ætas ferrea victa cadet;
Pacificæ grave Martis opus tunc cedet olivæ;
Romano cedent arma cruenta foro.
Pinguis humus passim nullis cultoribus, ultro
Et Cererem, tuaque munera, Bacche, dabit.
Arva pede incerto pessundare sancta profanos
Non sinet, arva sacris caste adeunda choris.
Tunc virides lauri sudabunt roscida mella,
Flumina perpetuo nectare lenta fluent;
Altricemque novus quando instaurabitur orbis,
Tellurem repetent numina prisca Deum.
Felices animæ, quibus illa in tempora carmen
Singula sub proprio pondere verba cadent.
His ego, si potero meritum subscribere nomen,
Forsitan Arsilli fama perennis erit;
Et mea tunc totum felix Pirmylla per orbem
Vivet in exitium nata puella meum.

Ast ego non tantum mihi nunc temerarius augur
Polliceor, nec me tam ferus ardor agit,
Corvus ut his ausim crocitare per arva Caystri
Cycneumque rudi fingere voce melos.

FINIS.

FRANCISCI ARSILLI POEMATIS.

# NOTES.

## NOTE A.

*Rymer, Fœdera. tom.* vi. *par.* i. *p.* 135.

*Papa ad Regem, pro Subsidio contra Hostes Ecclesiæ.*

CHARISSIME *in Christo Fili noster, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Non veremur ne *Majestas* tua nostram, quam de ea capimus fiduciam, in optimam partem non accipiat ejusdem Fidei et maximi amoris quo illam semper prosecuti sumus :

Et quia existimamus pristinum illum suum animum Sedi Apostolicæ durissimis in rebus subveniendi perstare in eadem voluntate, auctamque potius ejus animi magnitudinem fructu tantæ gloriæ quantam ex similibus actionibus aliàs consecuta est quàm diminutam esse ;

Nos quidem certè, quamquam maximis nostris et ejusdem Sanctæ Sedis angustiis difficultatibusque pressi ad hunc diem usque, nihil Tibi oneris imponere, nullam *Majestati*

*jestati tuæ* inferre molestiam sustinuimus, non de tua voluntate, pietate erga nos et eandem Sedem benevolentia dubitantes, sed quod in Te certissimum rerum nostrarum perfugium usque ad extremam necessitatem voluimus esse illibatum atque intactum.

Nunc verò cuperemus te cernere oculis, quibus rapinis et depopulationibus, quanto furore et scelere perditorum et nefariorum Hominum Status Ecclesiasticus hujusque simul Sanctæ Sedis Dignitas vexetur, laceretur, diripiatur, cùm nihil Latronum avaritiæ libidini crudelitati obstet; non pudor a stupris nefariis, non Religio a Sacris et Locis et Rebus violandis, non misericordia a cædibus Eos coherceat, quæ Nos ut reprimeremus exhausimus jam omnia ferè et hujus Sanctæ Sedis et eorum qui communem Rem Ecclesiasticam ita afflictam dolent subsidia, nè quid de nostra Dignitate decederemus, nè sceleratis Hostibus facilem cursum suæ improbitatis faceremus.

Sed cùm, si volumus salvam Ecclesiasticam esse Rempublicam majore conatu et viribus nobis opus sit, unique, inter Reges Christianos Principes, *tuæ Majestati* præcipuè confidamus, petimus a te et hortamur *Majestatem tuam* in Domino, summoque affectu requirimus, ut, quod alias consuevisti, tuique præstantissimi Animi est proprium, subvenire in tantis angustiis, difficultatibus, indignitatibus, huic Sanctæ Apostolicæ Sedi communi Matri Fidelium cunctorum tuâ curâ, prudentiâ, opibus, facultatibusque quamprimùm velis.

Quem autem in modum et qua potissimùm ratione videatur expedire et *tua Majestas* pro sua prudentiâ cogitabit, et Dilectus Filius *Nicolaus Scomber* Ordinis Prædicatorum noster Familiaris, istuc hac præcipùe de causa missus, cum eadem communicabit; cui eam nostro Nomine alloquenti *Majestas tua* fidem summam adhibendo ita secum reputabit, neque hoc majus erga Nos beneficium ab ea proficisci posse neque ipsius laudi et nomini magis honorificum

honorificum fore quicquam, quàm si ad suam peculiarem Virtutem et Gloriam se converterit, præstare Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam ab Insidiis et Latrociniis Impiorum Salvam atque Tutam.

Dat. *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die vicesimo Junii millesimo quingentesimo decimo septimo, Pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

J. SADOLETUS.

*Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ.*

## NOTE B.

### HYMN

*Of Lorenzo de' Medici.*

Great God, by whose determined laws
All nature moves! unceasing cause,
Whose power the universe controls!
Who from the central point decreed
That time his rapid flight should speed,
As round the eternal circle rolls!

At rest thyself, yet active still,
Thou mak'st and changest at thy will;
Unmoved alone, thou movest all;
Whilst matter, eager to assume
New forms, from thee awaits its doom,
And hastens at thy powerful call.

Firm on the ductile mass imprest
Whate'er thy wisdom deems the best
Thou fashion'st with unbounded love;

Whilst

Whilst all the wond'ring eye surveys
Unfolds to reason's clearer gaze
The nobler Archetype above.

Revolved in thy eternal mind,
Whate'er thy providence designed
It's *primal* fashion there assumed;
Till all in just dependence shown,
All future change to thee foreknown,
The whole in full perfection bloomed.

Then first thy mightier chain was bound
The struggling elements around,
Till each assumed its destined stand.
Thy power their contraries controlled,
And moist and dry, and heat and cold,
Were harmonized at thy command.

Nor scales the fire th' empyreal height,
Nor sinks the earth's incumbent weight
Beneath the central darkness deep;
But tempered in proportions true,
Each binding each in order due,
They learn their destined bounds to keep.

Diffused through all the mighty whole,
Thy goodness pours the living soul
That actuates each remoter part.
Thy energy with ceaseless force,
Impels the still returning course,
As midst the limbs the heaving heart.

From Thee, great Author, all that lives
Its stated boon of life receives,
Ere long again restored to Thee;
Each insect too minute to name
Yet owns a portion of thy flame,
Part of thy numerous family.

Resplendent

Resplendent cars of fiery glow
From realms of light to earth below
Thy animated offspring bear:
And when this mortal trial ends,
Again the glorious car attends
To wing them to their native sphere.

Grant then, my God, that raised sublime
My soul the arduous heights may climb,
And gaze upon the fount of light;
Nor ever from the place where shines
That cloudless sun which ne'er declines
Remove again its raptured sight.

Purge thou, my God, my visual ray;
Banish these earthly mists away,
Great centre towards which all things tend!
In thee alone, eternal mind!
The good their final refuge find,
Of all Creator, Guide, and End.

## NOTE C.

*Lutheri Opera. tom.* i. *p.* 1.

REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI, ILLUSTRISSIMO DOMINO, DOMINO *Alberto, Magdeburg. ac Moguntinen. Ecclesiarum Archiepiscopo Primati, Marchioni Brandeburg. &c. Domino suo et Pastori in Christo, Venerabiliter metuendo ac gratiosissimo.*

Gratiam Dei, et quicquid potest et est.

PARCE mihi, Reverendissime in Christo Pater, Princeps illustrissime, quod ego, fex hominum, tantum habeo temeritatis,

temeritatis, ut ad culmen tuæ sublimitatis ausus fuerim cogitare Epistolam ; testis est mihi Dominus Jesus, quod meæ parvitatis et turpitudinis mihi conscius, diu jam distuli, quod nunc perfricta fronte perficio, permotus quam maxime officio fidelitatis meæ, quam T. Reverendissimæ Pat. in Christo debere me agnosco ; dignetur itaque tua interim Celsitudo oculum ad pulverem unum intendere, et votum meum pro tua pontificali clementia intelligere.

Circumferuntur Indulgentiæ papales, sub tuo præclarissimo titulo, ad fabricam S. Petri, in quibus non adeo accuso Prædicatorum exclamationes, quas non audivi, sed doleo falsissimas intelligentias populi ex illis conceptas, quas vulgo undique jactant, videlicet, quod credunt infœlices animæ, si literas indulgentiarum redemerint, se securas esse de salute sua. Item, quod Animæ de Purgatorio statim evolent, ubi contributionem in cistam conjecerint. Deinde, tantas esse has gratias, ut nullum sit adeo magnum peccatum, etiam (ut aiunt) si per impossibile quis Matrem Dei violasset, quin possit solvi. Item, quod homo per istas indulgentias liber sit ab omni pœna et culpa.

O Deus optime ! sic erudiuntur Animæ, tuis curis, optime Pater, commissæ, ad mortem, et fit atque crescit durissima ratio tibi reddenda super omnibus istis. Id circo tacere hæc amplius non potui, non enim fit homo per ullum munus Episcopi securus de salute, cum nec per gratiam Dei infusam fiat securus, sed semper in timore et tremore jubet nos operari salutem nostram Apostolus. Et justus, inquit Petrus, vix salvabitur. Denique tam arcta est via, quæ ducit ad vitam, ut Dominus per Prophetas Amos et Zachariam, salvandos appellet torres raptos de incendio, et ubique Dominus difficultatem salutis denunciat.

Cur ergo per illas falsas veniarum fabulas et promissiones, prædicatores earum faciunt populum securum et sine

sine timore ? cum Indulgentiæ prorsus nihil boni conferant Animabus ad salutem aut sanctitatem, sed tantummodo pœnam externam, olim canonicè imponi solitam, auferant.

Denique, opera pietatis et charitatis sunt in infinitum meliora indulgentiis, et tamen hæc non tanta pompa nec tanto studio prædicant, imo propter Venias prædicandas illa tacent, cum tamen omnium Episcoporum hoc sit officium primum et solum, ut populus Evangelium discat, et charitatem Christi, nusquam enim præcipit Christus Indulgentias prædicari. Quantus ergo horror est, quantum periculum Episcopi, si tacito Evangelio, non nisi strepitus indulgentiarum permittat in populum suum spargi, et has plus curet quam Evangelium ? nonne dicet illis Christus, Colantes culicem, et glutientes camelum.

Accedit ad hoc, Reverendissime Pater in Domino, quod in Instructione illa commissariorum, sub T. Reverendissimæ P. nomine edita, dicitur (utique sine T. P. Reverendissimæ et scientia et consensu) unam principalium gratiarum esse donum illud Dei inæstimabile, quo reconciletur homo Deo, et omnes pœnæ deleantur Purgatorii. Item, quod non sit necessaria contritio his, qui Animas vel Confessionalia redimunt.

Sed quid faciam, optime Præsul et illustrissime Princeps, nisi quod per Dominum Jesum Christum T. Reverendissimam P. orem, quatenus oculum paternæ curæ dignetur admittere, et eundem Libellum penitus tollere, et prædicatoribus veniarum imponere aliam prædicandi formam, ne forte aliquis tandem exurgat, qui editis Libellis, et illos, et Libellum illum confutet, ac vituperium summum Illustrissimæ Tuæ Sublimitatis, quod ego vehementer quidem fieri abhorreo, et tamen futurum timeo, nisi cito succurratur.

Hæc meæ parvitatis fidelia officia, rogo, tua illustrissima gratia dignetur accipere, animo principali, et episcopali, id

est, clementissimo, sicut ego ea exhibeo corde fidelissimo, et T. P. Reverendissimæ deditissimo, quando et ego pars ovilis tui sum. Dominus Jesus custodiat T. Reverendissimam P. in æternum, Amen.

Ex Wittemberga, in Vigilia omnium Sanctorum,

Anno MDXVII.

Si T. Reverendissimæ P. placet, poterit has meas Disputationes videre, ut intelligat, quam dubia res sit Indulgentiarum opinio, quam illi ut certissimam seminant.

T. Reverendissimæ P.

Martinus Lutherus.

## NOTE D.

*Lutheri op. tom.* i. *f.* 65.

Beatissimo Patri *Leoni Decimo, Pont. Max. F. Martinus Lutherus Augustinianus æternam salutem.*

AUDITUM audivi de me pessimum, Beatissime Pater, quo intelligo, quosdam amicos fecisse nomen meum gravissime coram te et tuis fœtere, ut quia autoritatem et potestatem clavium et Summi Pontificis minuere molitus sim. Inde Hæreticus Apostata, perfidus et sexcentis nominibus, imo ignominiis accusor. Horrent aures et stupent oculi. Sed unicum stat fiduciæ præsidium, innocens et quieta conscientia. Nec nova audio; talibus enim insignibus et in nostra Regione me ornaverunt, homines isti honestissimi et veraces, id est, pessime sibi conscii, qui sua portenta mihi conantur imponere, et mea ignominia, suas ignominias glorificare. Sed rem ipsam, Beatissime Pater, digneris audire ex me infante et inculto.

Cœpit

Cœpit apud nos diebus proximis prædicari Jubileus ille Indulgentiarum Apostolicarum, profecitque adeo, ut præcones illius, sub tui nominis terrore, omnia sibi licere putantes, impiissima hæreticaque palam auderent docere, in gravissimum scandalum et ludibrium Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, ac si Decretales de abusionibus quæstorum nihil ad eos pertinerent. Nec contenti, quod liberrimis verbis hæc sua venena diffunderent, insuper Libellos ediderunt, et in vulgum sparserunt. In quibus, ut taceam insatiabilem et inauditam avaritiam, quam singuli pene apices olent crassissime, eadam illa impia et hæretica statuerunt, et ita statuerunt ut Confessores juramento adigerent, quo hæc ipsa fidelissime instantissimeque populo inculcarent.

Vera dico, nec est, quo se abscondant à calore hoc. Extant Libelli, nec possunt negare. Agebantur tum illa prospere, et exugebantur populi falsis spebus, et ut Propheta ait, Carnem desuper ossibus eorum tollebant. Ipsi vero pinguissime et suavissime interim pascebantur.

Unum erat, quo scandala sedabant, scilicet, terror nominis tui, ignis comminatio et Hæretici nominis opprobrium. Hæc enim incredibile est quam propensi sint intentare, quandoque etiam sit, in meris opiniosisque nugis suis contradictionem senserint. Si tamen hoc est scandala sedare, ac non potius mera tyrannide, schismata et seditiones tandem suscitare.

Verum nihilominus crebrescebant Fabulæ per tabernas de avaritia sacerdotum, detractionesque clavium, summique Pontificis, ut testis est vox totius hujus terræ. Ego sane (ut fateor) pro zelo Christi, sicuti mihi videbar, aut si ita placet, pro juvenili calore urebar, nec tamen meum esse videbam, in iis quicquam statuere aut facere. Proinde monui privatim aliquot magnates Ecclesiarum. Hic ab aliis acceptabar, aliis ridiculum, aliis aliud videbar; prævalebat enim nominis tui terror et censurarum intentatio. Tandem, cum nihil possem aliud, visum est, saltem, leniuscule

niuscule illis reluctari, id est, eorum dogmata in dubium et disputationem vocare. Itaque Schedulam disputatoriam edidi, invitans tantum doctiores, si qui vellent mecum, disceptare, sicut manifestum esse etiam adversariis oportet, ex Præfatione ejusdem disceptationis.

Ecce, hoc est incendium, quo totum Mundum quæruntur conflagrari, forte quod indignantur me unum, autoritate tua Apostolica Magistrum Theologiæ, jus habere, in publica Schola disputandi, pro more omnium Universitarum et totius Ecclesiæ, non modo de indulgentiis, verum etiam de potestate, remissione, Indulgentiis divinis, incomparabiliter majoribus rebus. Nec tamen multum moveor, quod hanc mihi facultatem invideant, à tua B. potestate concessam, qui eis favere cogor invitus, multo majora, scilicet, quod Aristotelis somnia, in medias res Theologiæ miscent, atque de divina Majestate meras nugas disputant contra et citra facultatem eis datam.

Porro, quod nam fatum urgeat has solas meas Disputationes præ cæteris, non solum eis, sed omnium Magistrorum, ut in omnem terram pene exierint, mihi ipsi miraculum est. Apud nostros et propter nostros tantum sunt editæ, et sic editæ, ut mihi incredibile sit, eas ab omnibus intelligi, Disputationes enim sunt, non doctrinæ, non dogmata, obscurius pro more, et ænigmaticus positæ. Alioqui si prævidere potuissem, certe id pro mea parte curassem, ut essent intellectu faciliores.

Nunc quid faciam? Revocare non possum, et miram mihi invidiam ex ea invulgatione video conflari; invitus venio in publicum, periculosissimumque ac varium hominum judicium præsertim ego indoctus, stupidus ingenio, vacuus eruditione, deinde nostro florentissimo seculo, quod pro sua in literis et ingeniis fœlicitate etiam Ciceronem cogere possit ad angulum lucis et publici, alioqui non ignavum sectatorem; sed cogit necessitas, me anserem strepere inter olores.

Itaque

Itaque quo et ipsos adversarios mitigem, et desideria multorum expleam, emitto ecce meas nugas, declaratorias mearum Disputationum; emitto autem, quo tutior sim, sub tui nominis præsidio, et tuæ protectionis umbra, Beatissime Pater, in quibus intelligent omnes, qui volent quam pure simpliciterque Ecclesiasticam potestatem et reverentiam clavium quæsierim et coluerim, simulque quam inique et false me tot nominibus adversarii fœdaverint. Si enim talis essem, qualem illi me videri cupiunt, ac non potius omnia disputandi facultate, rectè a me tractata fuissent, non potuisset fieri, ut Illustr. Princeps Fridericus Saxoniæ Dux, Elector Imperii, &c. hanc pestem in sua permitteret Universitate, cum sit Catholicæ et Apostolecæ veritatis unus facile amantissimus, nec tolerabilis fuissem viris nostri studii acerrimis et studiosissimis. Verum actum ago, quando illi suavissimi homines non verentur mecum et Principem et Universitatem pari ignominia conficere palam.

Quare, Beatissime Pater, prostratum me pedibus tuæ B. offero cum omnibus quæ sum et habeo. Vivifica, occide, voca, revoca, approba, reproba, ut placuerit; vocem tuam, vocem Christi, in te præsidentis et loquentis agnoscam. Si mortem merui, mori non recusabo. Domini enim est terra, et plenitudo ejus, qui est benedictus in secula, Amen. qui et te servet in æternum, Amen. Die S. Trinitatis, Anno MDXVIII.

## NOTE E.

*Lutheri op. p.* 160.

LEO PAPA X. DILECTO FILIO NOBILI VIRO FRIDERICO DUCI SAXONIÆ, *Sacri Romani Imperii Principi Electori, &.*

DILECTE Fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Cum memoria recolimus nobilissimam Familiam tuam, teque

teque ipsum caput et ornamentum familiæ, ad cæteras laudes proprias generis vestri hanc primam et potissimam esse voluisse, ut per vos Dei fides ac religio, et hujus sanctæ Sedis honor ac dignitas, quemadmodum quidem decet et fas est, salva atque illibata manerent, non possumus existimare errantem quempiam à fide, vel adversus eam potius oblatrantem, tuæ nobilitatis favore aut gratia fretum, superbiæ et iniquitati suæ frena tam audacter laxare.

Cum vero audimus, et ad nos undique defertur, quendam iniquitatis filium, Fratrem Martinum Lutherum, ordinis Eremitarum, S. Augustini congregationis Alemanniæ, immemorem habitus, professionisque suæ, quæ in humilitate et obedientia consistit, prævaricantem, in Ecclesia Dei jactare se, tanquam tuæ nobilitatis præsidio munitus, nullius autoritatem reprehensionemque vereatur. Etsi cognoscimus falsum hoc esse, tamen eidem nobilitati tuæ scribendum duximus, hortantes eam in Domino, ut pro nomine et dignitate boni catholicique Principis, qualis tu es, retinere splendorem optimæ famæ generis tui immaculatum ab hac calumnia velis. Neque solum culpam evitare quod facis, nulla enim adhuc in te nostro judicio culpa est, sed etiam suspicionem fugere hujus culpæ, quam tibi illius temeritas inferre conatur.

Et quoniam ex doctissimorum ac religiosissimorum hominum relatione, ac præsertim dilecti filii Magistri sacri Palatii nostri, nobis constat, multa, dictum fratrem Martinum Lutherum, impia et hæretica, audere asserere, et publice affirmare; Nos et eum citari ad respondendum jussimus, et dilecto filio nostro Thomæ, tituli S. Sixti Presbytero Cardinali nostro, et hujus sanctæ Sedis de latere Legato, homini omnis Theologiæ Philosophiæque consultissimo, quid eum agere oporteat, commissimus.

Cum autem hæc res Dei Catholicæque fidei sinceritatem omnino

omnino concernat, sitque propium officium Sedis Apostolicæ, fidei magistræ cognoscere, qui recte sentiant aut perperam: hortamur denuo nobilitatem tuam, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ mandamus, ut et Dei, et nostri, et sui honoris causa, dare operam et efficere velit, ut is Martinus Lutherus in potestatem et judicium hujus sanctæ Sedis, sicut à te Legatus prædictus requisiverit, deducatur. Quod erit fidei catholicæ gratum et salutare munus, tuæ nobilitati, ob pietatis et religionis cultum, in primis honorificum. Siquidem ad honorem nominis tui et animæ salutem in primis pertinet, ne præsens et futurum seculum ullo tempore commemorare possit, hæresin perniciosissmam in Ecclesia Dei, favore domus tuæ nobilissimæ, fuisse exortam, cui te periculo occurrere tua sapientia decet.

Quod si forte aliquid tibi de eo in bonam partem persuasum est, re apud Sedem Apostolicam discussa, et veritate indigata, aut is, si erit innocens, cum bona nostra gratia remittetur; aut si pravæ mentis inventus fuerit, mens tua ab omni errore liberabitur. Nos et paterno affectu, et ex pastorali officio, neque innocentiæ pœnam ullam proponimus, et pœnitenti clementiæ nostræ gremium largiter aperiemus. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, Die XXIII. Augusti, Anno M.D.XVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

## NOTE F.

*Lutheri op. tom.* I. *fl.* 173.

EPISTOLA THOMÆ CAJETANI TITULI S. SIXTI PRESBYTERI CARDINALIS, AD *D. Fridericum, Saxoniæ Ducem, Sacri Imperii Electorem, &c. De Lutheri causa, post discessum ejusdem Lutheri ex Augusto, Anno* MDXVIII.

ILLUSTRISSIME et Excellentissime Princeps. Venit Frater Martinus cum literis Excellentiæ vestræ, et antequam

quam nos adiret, voluit se munire salvo conductu, quem ab illis Dominis, Cæsareæ Majestatis Consiliariis, vestræ Illustrissimæ Dominationis intuitu et favore impetravit. Non tamen sine scitu meo. Noluerunt enim hi Domini quidquam illi concedere, nisi me permittente. Quibus respondi, Facerent quidquid eis placeret, dummodò nomen meum non misceretur. Et hîc cœpi mirari; nam si Excellentia vestra in me confidebat, non erat opus salvo conductu; si non confidebat, non erat mittendus ad me, ut Patrem.

Adiit deinde nos Frater Martinus, primùm excusans se super impetratione salvi conductus propter inimicitias, &c. Deinde dicens, se venisse, ut nos audiret, et veritatem à nobis agnitam profiteretur. Nos hominem *libentissimè* ac humanissimè excepimus, paterneque complexi sumus. Dixi ante omnia, quod secundùm solidam Scripturam sacram et sacros Cannones interrogandus esset, et quod si se cognosceret, et de cætero caveret, possemusque securè dormire, ne reverteretur ad vomitum, omnia componerem, sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ Leonis X. autoritate.

Ostendi deinde, monuique paternè, Disputationes et Sermones ejus esse contra Apostolicam doctrinam, maximè super Indulgentiis, citavique Extravagantem Clementis VI. apertè contra ipsum stantem, tam super causa, quàm effectu Indulgentiarum. Adduxi præterea antiquam et communem Romanæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem, ac interpretationem super alio etiam Articulo de fide Sacramentorum aperui; admonuique opinionem ejus non esse sanam, sed manifestè dissentire à sacra Scriptura et recta Ecclesiæ doctrina, quæ illi omninò repugnat. Is ad Extravagantem claram et apertam dixit nescio quid relatione indignum, et petiit diem ad deliberandum, rediturumque se affirmavit. Ego illum hortatus, ut se cognosceret, dimisi.

Rediitque postridiè, unà cum Patre Vicario generali congregationis Observantium, multisque stipatus. Et cum expectarem

expectarem, ut se verè agnosceret, cœpit coram Notario, quem secum duxerat, protestari. Ego id subridens, iterum humanissimè hominem hortatus sum, ut relicto hujuscemodi inani consilio, ad cor et sanitatem rediret, durum esse illi contra stimulum calcitrare. Addidit deinceps, in Scriptis se velle mihi respondere, et causam suam agere, me anteriore die satis digladiatum verbis cum illo fuisse. Ego audaciam hominis miratus dixi, Fili, neque tecum digladiatus sum, neque digladiari volo. Tantùm paratus sum, intuitu Illustrissimi Ducis Friderici, te paternè, ac benignè (non disputandi contendendivè gratia) audire, ac pro veritate monere ac docere, conciliare etiam (si voles) sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ Leoni X. et Romanæ Ecclesiæ.

Rogavit me tum is, tum Vicarius ejus, ut illum in Scriptis audire vellem. Dixi me libentissimè auscultaturum et facturum omnia paternè, non tamen judicialiter. Itaque abiit, reversusque postea tertio est, et longam Scripto exhibuit phylacteriam, in qua fatue admodum respondet ad constitutionem Extravagantis Papæ, nec parcit etiam suæ Sanctitati, quam dicit abuti autoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ. Ad illud verò de fide Sacramentorum implet papyrum locis sacræ Scripturæ omninò impertinentibus et perperam intellectis.

Ego postquam ostendi non ita esse intelligendum, quod in illa Extravagante et sacris literis scriptum est, iterum atque iterum Fratrem Martinum ut filium monui et obtestatus sum, nollet plus sapere, quàm oporteret, nec nova dogmata in Ecclesiam intrudere, sed seipsum cognoscere, et salvare animam suam.

Venit ad me deinde Pater Vicarius congregationis, cum quo præsente, Magnifico Domino Urbano Oratore Montisferrati, et uno Magistro Theologiæ dicti Ordinis multasque horas tractavimus de negocio hoc, ut tolleretur

scandalum, salva reverentia Apostolicæ Sedis, et sine ullâ nota Fratris Martini. Venit postea solus ille Theologiæ Magister, socius Fratris Martini, qui probavit et collaudavit tractatum.

Jactis his fundamentis, cum benè sperarem omnia, profectus est hinc idem Vicarius, insalutato hospite; ac me omninò inscio subsequutus est deinde Frater Martinus et Socii ejus, mihique omninò, imò sibi, perbellè illuserunt. Accepi interea Fratris Martini literas, quibus petiit facatam veniam, Non ideò verò revocat maledicta et scandala, quæ catholicæ Ecclesiæ inousit.

Ego, Illustrissime Princeps, fraudulentum Fratris Martini et sequacium consilium, non solùm admiratus sum, verum etiam prorsus perhorrui et obstupui. Cum enim de bona illius valetudine maximè sperarem, maximè sum frustratus. Non video tamen cujus fiducia hæc agat.

In causa verò tria affirmaverim. Primò, dicta Fratris Martini in Conclusionibus suis disputativè esse posita. In sermonibus tamen ab eo scriptis, affirmativè et assertivè esse posita, et confirmata in vulgari germanico, ut ajunt. Ea autem sunt partim contra doctrinam Apostolicæ Sedis, partim verò damnabilia. Et credat mihi Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, quia vera dico et loquor ex certa scientia, non ex opinionibus.

Secundò, Illustrissimam illam vestram Dominationem hortor et rogo, consulat honori et conscientiæ suæ, vel mittendo Fratrem Martinum ad Urbem, vel ejiciendo extra terras suas, postquam non vult paterna via errorem suum cognoscere et cum universali Ecclesia benè sentire.

Postremò, illud sciat Illustrissima Dominatio vestra, nequaquam hoc tàm grave et pestilens negocium posse diu hærere. Nam Romæ prosequentur Causam, quando ego lavi

lavi manus meas, et ad sanctissimum Dominum, Dominum nostrum hujuscemodi fraudes scripsi. Benè et feliciter valeat Excellentia vestra cui me intimè commendo. Ex Augusta Vindelicorum, 25 die Octobris. Anno 1518.

Iterum atque iterum rogo, ut Dominatio vestra Illustrissima non permittat se decipi à dicentibus, Nihil mali continent Fratris Martini Lutheri dicta; Nec ponat maculam in gloriam Majorum suorum, et suam, propter unum Fraterculum, ut [toties promisit. Ego loquor puram veritatem, et servabo Jesu Christi regulam: A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos. Hæc pauca manu propria.

E. V. et Illustriss. D.

ad obsequia,

THOMAS, S. SIXTI CARDINALIS,

*Legatus Apostolicæ Sedis.*

JAN 9 2 1982